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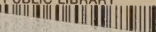
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LECTURES
ON
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

INCLUDING THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE
ENGLISH REFORMATION FROM WICKLIFFE
TO THE GREAT REBELLION

DELIVERED IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

BY

WILLIAM FITZGERALD, D.D. 1814-83

LATE BISHOP OF KILLALOE AND CLONFERT

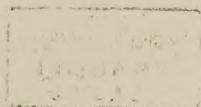
EDITED BY THE

REV. WILLIAM FITZGERALD, A.M. AND JOHN QUARRY, D.D.

WITH MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR'S LIFE AND WRITINGS

V. 1

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. I.



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PREFACE.

THE following Lectures are published in compliance with a very general desire, often and in various ways expressed during the entire interval that has elapsed since they were delivered. The reasons why the Bishop did not print them himself will be found sufficiently explained in the Memoir prefixed. They are now printed substantially as they were written. In the very few instances in which it was found necessary to make any change beyond the mere correction of clerical errors, or to supply anything not from his own hand, the words substituted or matter added will be found enclosed in brackets.

References, which were almost invariably omitted by the Bishop himself, have been supplied throughout. In finding them it was needful in a few cases to take advantage of the assistance of learned friends. Due acknowledgment to these will be found at the close of the Appendix. Other explanatory particulars which will be found in the Memoir, or in notes subjoined to the Lectures themselves, it is not necessary to mention here.

Ascension Day, 1885.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

	PAGE
MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR	[7]

FIRST COURSE.

APOSTOLICAL CHURCH.

LECTURE	
I. NATURE, VALUE, AND PROPER USE OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY	3
II. CAUTION REQUIRED IN JUDGING THE STATE OF OPINION IN ANY AGE FROM THE WORKS OF ITS LEADING WRITERS, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM VARIOUS AUTHORS	25
III. MODE OF TREATMENT SUITABLE TO THE PRELECTIONS OF A PROFESSOR—ACTS OF THE APOSTLES	38
IV. NEANDER, AND THE GIFT OF TONGUES	51
V. EARLIEST RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH TO JUDAISM, AND ITS FIRST CONSTITUTION	63
VI. APOSTOLIC COMMUNICATION OF SUPERNATURAL GIFTS—THE SAMARITANS AND SIMON MAGUS	75
VII. PROPER SENSE OF THE TERM DEVELOPMENT—CALLING OF THE GENTILES AND COUNCIL AT JERUSALEM	90
VIII. RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO JUDAISM—SUPPOSED PETRINE AND PAULINE PARTIES	106
IX. STRUCTURE AND CONSTITUTION OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCHES	118

SECOND COURSE.

THE EARLY CHURCH.

LECTURE	PAGE
I. SCANTINESS OF INFORMATION RESPECTING THE PERIOD NEXT AFTER THE APOSTLES	129
II. THE APOSTOLICAL FATHERS	136
III. FROM NERVA TO COMMODUS—JUSTIN MARTYR AND THE RISE OF SPECULATIVE THEOLOGY	153
IV. SPECULATIVE THEOLOGY ADVANCED BY JUSTIN, CLEMENT, AND ORIGEN	165
V. SECRECY RESPECTING CHRISTIAN RITES IN THE EARLY CHURCH—CONNECTION WITH THE PAGAN MYSTERIES	174
VI. ON THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE DOGMA OF TRANSUB- STANTIATION.	186
VII. CYPRIAN	200
VIII. RISE OF ASCETICISM, AND THE HIGH ESTEEM OF CELIBACY	215
FRAGMENTS.—POST-APOSTOLICAL MIRACLES, I.	227
POST-APOSTOLICAL MIRACLES, II.	229

THIRD COURSE.

*RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PAPACY, WITH
REMARKS ON THE MONASTIC ORDERS.*

I. THE THEOCRATIC CHARACTER OF THE EMPIRE	235
II. ORIGINAL DIGNITY OF THE ROMAN BISHOPS	251

BRIEF MEMOIR

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THE RIGHT REV.

WILLIAM FITZGERALD, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF KILLALOE AND CLONFERT.

By JOHN QUARRY, D.D.

Book I.

Early life till his admission to the Priesthood.

WILLIAM FITZGERALD, name honoured by all who knew him, and never to be forgotten by those who enjoyed his friendship, was the fourth son and youngest child of Maurice FitzGerald, by his second wife, Mary, daughter of Edward William Burton, of Clifden in the county of Clare.

Maurice FitzGerald, a surgeon by profession, was a member of a respectable family in the same county; hence, when the subject of the present memoir after long years became Bishop of Killaloe, he found himself surrounded by numerous estimable families with whom he was connected by kindred and friendship. Towards the close of the last century, Doctor FitzGerald entered into the medical service of the East India Company, and in time obtained a staff appointment in Madras. From this he retired in the year 1808, and on his return lived for some time in England. In the year 1812 he came to Ireland, and resided for some time at Lifford, near the city of Limerick, where his son William was born on December 3, 1814. After that he returned to England, residing principally in London, where his wife, William's

mother, died in the year 1821. In the next year Dr. FitzGerald returned to Dublin, and resided there till his death in 1838.

William FitzGerald's earlier education was conducted entirely at home. To the earnest and zealous care of his brother Edward FitzGerald, who was an accomplished classical scholar, he owed the first foundations of that literary and classical knowledge by which he was in after years so highly distinguished.

Edward FitzGerald just named became a barrister. It was my good fortune to have met him in society, near the end of my college days. I still retain a vivid remembrance of his rare accomplishments and of the charm of his conversation in social intercourse. He died many years ago. Another of the brothers, who still lives, Francis A. FitzGerald, was a highly distinguished fellow-collegian of mine, though my senior. He was one of my most valued college acquaintances. In after years I have had the privilege of counting him amongst my intimate and most honoured friends. He became a barrister also, in course of time was appointed one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer in Ireland. This dignified office he filled for many years, until at the close of the year 1882, he resigned his seat on the Bench and retired into private life.

William FitzGerald, after attending a day school in Dublin for a short time, became a pupil of the late Mr. John Turpin, who was at that time the most eminent private classical tutor residing in Trinity College. John Turpin was a most amiable man and a most efficient classical teacher. He is to this day remembered affectionately by the now rapidly diminishing remnant of the crowds of pupils who flocked to his instructions, and who owed to his teaching the highest University distinctions, as well as much of their success in after life. After some years he was appointed Principal of Middleton College in the county of Cork. Middleton College is an endowed school founded by the Countess of Orkney in the year 1709, which has up to the present time, with varying fortunes, maintained the character of an impor-

tant school. Under Mr. Turpin's superintendence it became very eminent. After some years he was enabled to purchase the handsome estate and residence of Young Grove, in the vicinity of Middleton. Retiring from the school, he devoted himself to country life, and took an active part in the public duties of a country gentleman. When I became Rector of Middleton in 1859 I revived my old college acquaintance with him, and enjoyed for several years, until his death, the privilege of his friendship and of his learned conversation. I had the happiness in those days of bringing him and his former pupil, then Bishop of Cork, together in my own house, and very pleasant it was to see the cordiality with which they met.

When Mr. Turpin went to Middleton College, William FitzGerald went with him, and remained there till he entered as a Pensioner in Trinity College, not long afterwards, in November 1830.

I am enabled by a friend¹ who was his schoolfellow at Middleton, and afterwards for many years his Vicar-General when he became Bishop of Killaloe, to mention a few particulars respecting his ways at that time, when both, from sixteen to seventeen years of age, were preparing for entrance at Trinity College. What he knew of him then, my friend tells me, compared with his after life, verified the saying that 'the boy is the father of the man.' He was then more like a grave studious man than a schoolboy. He was almost clerical in his aspect, took no part in the ordinary amusements of boys, spent his time in reading, prepared his work by himself, and took it up to Mr. Turpin by himself. At the same time he was ever kind and genial to all that sought him. And 'when going to rest with the other boys in the common bedroom, he kept them convulsed with laughter at the droll sayings he poured out, as he put on his red nightcap.' Thus even then he showed the same combination of wit, wisdom, and learning which afterwards made him the loved companion of Archbishop Whately, and indeed of all that had the privilege of his society.

When William FitzGerald entered Trinity College his

¹ Rev. Somers H. Payne, of Upton in the county of Cork.

college tutor was the eminent and very learned Dr. James Thomas O'Brien, at that time a junior Fellow of Trinity College. Just then Dr. O'Brien became famous by his volume of *Sermons on the doctrine of Justification by Faith*, preached in the College Chapel, some of which I heard before I left college. These sermons were soon out of print, and were not republished till in recent years he reprinted them with some additional notes. Dr. O'Brien became soon Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Dublin, and took an active part in raising the Divinity School in Trinity College to the high standard it soon attained. He became in 1841 Dean of Cork, and was made Bishop of Ossory and Ferns in the same year, which See he held till his death in 1874. He was in the main of the Evangelical School, though near the end of his life, when the discussions on the subject of Baptismal Regeneration were occupying the General Synod of the Irish Church, he published a highly valuable pamphlet in which he declared his views to have become greatly altered on that subject. Though his pupil, William FitzGerald, did not altogether in after life coincide with some of the special notions of the Evangelical School, he always held Dr. O'Brien in the highest esteem, and valued his great attainments and useful labours.

When Dr. O'Brien became Archbishop King's Professor, it was needful that William FitzGerald should be transferred to a new tutor. The well known and very learned Dr. James Henthorn Todd had then recently obtained a Fellowship in Trinity College, and William FitzGerald became his pupil. Dr. Todd then was, and continued till his death a few years ago, one of my most intimate and admired friends. It is needless to mention his eminence as a divine and an antiquary. If his new pupil did not follow him in a High Church direction any more than he followed Dr. O'Brien in an opposite direction, he always retained feelings of affection for him.

An intimate college friend of Bishop FitzGerald² has, in reply to an inquiry of mine, written as follows:—'Your kind letter in reference to the probable publication of the religious-

² Rev. Aubrey Townshend, of Puxton near Bristol.

literary remains of my most valued and ancient friend, the late Bishop FitzGerald, interests and gratifies me in no ordinary degree. It recalls to me forcibly the ancient time, half a century since, when the departed Bishop was a college student, a little turned twenty, and when the University professors said that his attainments far exceeded theirs. How I did enjoy my long country walks with him week after week, when—question him as in my crude ignorance I did on Fathers, Schoolmen, and all manner of out-of-the-way points—he would off-hand tell me all about them, as if on each point he had for the last month read and thought about nothing else.’

I subjoin here the higher honours he obtained during his college time: 1833, Vice-Chancellor’s Prize, Greek and Latin verse, ‘*Druidæ*,’ English verse, ‘*Ægyptus Rediviva*,’ Prize in Classics; 1834, Hebrew Prize; First Honour in Classics; Vice-Chancellor’s Prize, Latin, ‘*The Late Arctic Expedition*,’ Greek verse, ‘*Mutat terra vices*,’ 1835, Hebrew Prize; Downes’s Prize for Composition; Vice-Chancellor’s Prize, Latin verse, ‘*The Embassy of the Gibeonites to Joshua*,’ 1836, Vice-Chancellor’s Prize, ‘*The Influence of the Abstract Sciences on the Morals of Mankind*,’ English prose; also, on ‘*The Relative Advantages of Public and Private Education*’ in English prose. In 1837, Vice-Chancellor’s Prize, ‘*The Influence of Climate on National Character*,’ in English prose; the Primate’s Hebrew Prize, and Downes’s Prize for Composition.

In the year 1833 FitzGerald obtained a scholarship on the foundation of Trinity College. As this was tenable for five years he continued to reside in college until the expiration of that term in 1838, taking his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1835. During this residence in college his genius and learning brought him into contact with many men of eminence at that time, as well as with many that afterwards rose to great distinction. And it was during this time of residence in college that his literary activity began. In the year 1837 he printed in the ‘*Dublin Christian Examiner*’ some papers of great weight bearing on the ‘*Tracts for the Times*,’ which at that time were in their early vigour. These papers, which attracted

much notice, will be mentioned again. In the year 1838 he printed in the April number of the 'British Magazine' an extremely learned and remarkable paper on the Epistle of St. Barnabas. This paper, dated January 15, 1838, is worthy of taking its place in the first rank of discussions respecting the ancient ecclesiastical writings, with the history of which he was even then thoroughly familiar. A portion of this paper has been transferred to supply an apparent deficiency in one of the following Lectures, for reasons that will be explained. He also at that time wrote in the 'Christian Examiner' some criticisms on Dr. Wall's publications on the Ancient Hebrew Orthography. Occupying himself in this way in addition to laborious study, the time passed on until late in the year 1838 he was ordained Deacon for the Curacy of Lakagh in the diocese of Kildare, which he continued to hold for some time.

In the year 1839 he wrote an essay on 'Logomachy, or the Abuse of Words.' Philip Bury Duncan, Fellow of New College, Oxford, had offered a prize of fifty pounds for the best essay on this subject, by a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, with an additional twenty-five pounds for the publishing of the same, if the Senior Fellows of Trinity College, who were to be the judges, thought it worthy of publication. FitzGerald's essay obtained the prize, and, having been thought worthy of publication, was accordingly printed. This very able, interesting, and remarkable essay first attracted to him the notice of Archbishop Whately, who became his patron in subsequent years, and who for some time availed himself of his service as his private chaplain. And it is worthy of remark, and indeed highly honourable to both, that in this essay the author, a young man having his way to make in the world, should have ventured to controvert an important principle maintained by the Archbishop, his Diocesan, in his well-known work on Logic. The principle was the fundamental one that 'Logic is entirely conversant about language.' The position maintained in the essay was that 'Logic, if we speak accurately (i.e. the analysis of the reasoning process), has nothing at all to do with words, but is wholly occupied

with purely mental inferences, judgments, and propositions.' This was alleged in reference to a class of sophisms which the essayist maintained to 'belong not properly to the cognizance of logic strictly so called, but rather to rhetoric, or some distinct and independent science that should have the nature and use of words for its peculiar province.' In a note subjoined he adverts to what the Archbishop added to the proposition quoted above. 'If any process of reasoning can take place, without the employment of language, orally or mentally (*a metaphysical question which I shall not here discuss*), such a process does not come within the province of the science here treated of.' The essayist says on this, 'Now, it appears to me, that the discussion of the metaphysical question which his Grace declines, is an absolutely necessary preliminary to determining the question, whether logic (*as a science*) is entirely or at all conversant about language. If my former statement be correct, that the whole of reasoning *in words* depends upon its capacity of being resolved into reasoning *in ideas*, must it not follow that the science which professes to supply a test of reasoning, by an analysis of the process, ought to contemplate that process in its simple and only certain form?' To this was subjoined an extract from Dr. Thomas Brown.

It was in the early part of this year 1839, that I for the first time met my long much-loved, intimate, and never to be forgotten friend, at the house of a mutual friend in Dublin. He seemed then a slight, rather retiring young man, with a countenance beaming with intellect. On the Sunday following the evening I speak of, I went to St. Patrick's Cathedral for the three o'clock service, and went into the vestry of the Dean's Vicar-Choral. Presently FitzGerald came in. He had promised to read the Lessons, but was anxious for some reason to be released from that engagement, and it was arranged that I should take his place. He then mentioned that he had attended that morning at the consecration of the Hon. Dr. Ludlow Tonson for the Bishopric of Killaloe, and he mentioned some awkwardness that had attended the putting of the chimere on the Bishop-elect at the part of the

service where that is prescribed. Little did it seem to any of us then, that the young deacon who told this anecdote would be the next successor to Dr. Tonson in that See. Least of all, as we shall soon see, could that have seemed a likely event to FitzGerald himself.

Dr. Ludlow Tonson, who was brother to the then Lord Riversdale, and in time became the last to hold that title in the peerage of Ireland, was the rector of a quiet country parish in the diocese of Cloyne, the duties of which he discharged in most exemplary manner. In addition to this he had been for many years the most admired preacher of occasional sermons. These he had great powers of getting up and delivering in a style that suited the taste of those days, and which in its way was really highly effective. The mantle of Kirwan had seemed to have fallen upon him. His advocacy was sought when some important charity required pecuniary assistance. He had the power of drawing tears from the eyes and money from the pockets of his hearers. And on such occasions it was a common thing for Roman Catholics no less than members of the Established Church to flock to hear him. The Lord-Lieutenant paid a visit to the Earl of Shannon at Castlemartyr. Tonson was invited to meet him, and preached on the Sunday at the parish church, impressing the Lord-Lieutenant so much by his oratorical power and the excellence of his sermon, that soon after, when the See of Killaloe became vacant, he was selected for that dignity. He was an excellent man, and filled the office for many years, leaving his own arms impaled with the arms of the See, on the glass in the porch of Clarisford, the palace of the Bishops, where they still remain, and leaving the memory of himself embalmed in the affections of his diocese.

I observed just now that least of all was FitzGerald himself likely at that time to have had any presentiment of his promotion to that See or indeed to any Church preferment at all. When the time came that he should obtain Priest's Orders, he found it necessary to review his position preparatory to the needful subscription to the formularies of the Church. The stringent terms of 'assent and consent' then

required, but now wisely relaxed, while readily accepted by the less thoughtful, were calculated to throw an obstacle in the way of those who thoroughly investigated for themselves, and were dominated by a sensitive conscience. What was the precise phase of opinion which made him hesitate it is difficult to say. It was at the time understood that the obstacle lay in the harsh and very rigid terms of the Athanasian Creed, so-called, which defines in a more inflexible way some points left in a less determinate form by the Nicene Fathers and the earlier Creeds. It seems pretty clear that his opinions were not less in accordance with the doctrine of the Church than those of such men as the older Sherlock, or Dr. Samuel Clarke, whose views, though the occasion of much controversy, had been practically tolerated in the Church. However, in FitzGerald's case the difficulty so far prevailed that he resigned his curacy, and returned to Dublin, where for a few years he devoted himself to thought and to those studies which he had already so eagerly pursued from his earliest years. The reward of this conscientious retirement was found in the firm grasp which he ultimately obtained of all the great verities of the Christian Faith, as received in our Church, to the principles of which in their Scriptural moderation, and the discipline of which in its like moderation, he remained throughout life most earnestly attached. Such an attachment is far more to be valued than any conformity resulting from an unwillingness to face difficulties, from a forced suppression of doubt, or from the satisfaction of scruples got over without thorough investigation and honest conviction.

But besides the thought and study to which he then devoted himself, his pen was kept in exercise in his Master's service. In the 'British Magazine' is a letter dated November 2, 1839, but not printed until March 1840, giving some instances of the use of the term *ἡ κυριακή* to denote the Lord's Day. This letter was copied by Dr. Todd in his 'Discourses on the Apocalypse,' published in 1846. And in a note appended Dr. Todd took exception to the applicability of one of the quotations from Clement of Alexandria, referring to Potter's note on the passage. But both Potter and

Dr. Todd most strangely mistook the entire drift of the passage, and I am persuaded that FitzGerald had taken the right view of it. It is in the 'Stromateis,' VII. p. 733A, of Sylburg's edition. I notice this here, because of the uniform accuracy of his quotations on any important point of scholarship. He printed also in these years a review of Strauss's 'Leben Jesu' in the 'Dublin Christian Examiner,' a 'Life of Ussher' in the 'Dublin University Magazine' of February, April, and August 1841, a review of Taylor's 'Ancient Christianity' in the same of May 1840, and a review of Milman's 'History of Christianity' in September 1840; also in the 'Christian Examiner' of June and August 1844, a review of Maitland's 'Dark Ages,' and of Lathbury's 'History of the Non-Jurors' in the same of May and July 1845. I am inclined to refer also to this period an unfinished work of great moment on the history of the Ebionites. The MS. of this consists of a discussion of the Nazarene Gospel, which he gave me many years ago, supposing it might be of use to me in some work of mine which I was engaged in at the time, but saying he was not quite sure that he would adhere then to some particulars in it. These were already, when he gave them to me, 'yellow leaves,' as he called them. There are also several chapters, tracing the history down from author to author, full of most curious matter, and discussing the views of writers now seldom noticed. The work is too unfinished to be printed separately, but would find a fitting place as a fragment in a collected edition of the Bishop's works.

One thing these papers plainly show is that the writer had not finally accepted the doctrinal statements of our Church in their full integrity, without having first made himself thoroughly familiar with the works of the leading Unitarian writers, from Dan. Zuicker and Crellius to Priestley and Belsham. All his writings exhibit an eminently judicial mind. He fairly distributed praise and blame as it seemed deserved on either side, and was not content to judge the case of one side on the showing of the other. The conclusions arrived at by such a mind carry with them a weight

which the partial judgments of many controversialists fail to bear.

There were probably some minor writings which it is not easy now to trace. But besides papers in periodical publications he printed some separate volumes. In 1837 he had written the papers in the 'Christian Examiner' on the 'Tracts for the Times,' which he put together and published in 1839, before he had retired from clerical duty, under the title, 'Episcopacy, Tradition, and Sacraments, with a Postscript on Fundamentals,' a very striking and remarkable treatise now not to be easily met with. In 1842 he printed 'Holy Scripture the Ultimate Rule of Faith to a Christian Man,' a work also not to be easily met with now. And it was in this period also that he prepared and published his edition of Butler's 'Analogy,' with a Life of the Author prefixed, notes and various readings. Of this work I may truly say that if he had never published anything else it would have sufficed to establish his character as a profound thinker, entering fully into the spirit of the great Bishop's immortal work, and adding in the same spirit important elucidations of the argument. The Life prefixed, consisting with its Appendix of 104 pages, is admirably written, and contains I suppose all that is to be known of Butler's personal history. It is enriched with frequent remarks and discussions on ethical and philosophical questions of the highest order. It is also adorned with several very striking sketches of character, for which the readers of the Lectures now published will perceive that he had a very remarkable faculty. In this respect he reminds one of those sketches of character which form the great charm of Lord Clarendon's historical writings.

My readers will, I feel assured, be thankful if I present them with a couple of interesting examples of the Notes to this edition of the 'Analogy.' I shall first take one which will give a view of the writer's conceptions on a very important particular of practical religion. Butler had remarked, at the close of the fifth chapter of the First Part of the 'Analogy,' that 'the manifestation of persons' characters contributes very much, in various ways, to the carrying on a great part of that

general course of nature, respecting mankind, which comes under our observation at present.' In reference to this remark of Butler, FitzGerald appended a note at the foot of page 111, which is as follows:—

'It may be observed, too, that our outward actions serve to manifest our real characters to *ourselves*, showing us in a remarkable manner, sometimes that we are better, and often that we are worse than we could have suspected before the trial. The present state of things, therefore, affords a discipline corrective of the delusions of melancholy and self-love, by constantly affording us practical means of correcting, by experiment, our estimate of our own dispositions.' Besides this note at the foot of the page, there is in the body of the work the note of which I have spoken, headed 'Note A.' It is as follows:—

'I do not know whether Butler was here thinking at all of sudden conversions, and in particular, of death-bed conversions; but it may seem that the point here raised by him is essentially involved in the question concerning them. Instantaneous conversion seems to suppose the production in a very short time of a change in the character which, in the ordinary way, could only be produced by habit; and so to be in morals what creation is in physics. Indeed I am sure—for it is apparent from what they themselves have told us of their experience—that many men whose conversion has appeared to themselves and others instantaneous, were really converted gradually; that the progress of reformation had begun long before the point upon which they fix as the point of transition, and, in several ways, remained very incomplete and unconfirmed long after it. But these men, setting out with the notion that all true conversion must be instantaneous, pleased themselves by dating their own change from some day or hour, which fixed itself in their minds by some extraordinary occurrence or peculiar liveliness of feeling. This, however, cannot be said in all cases. But, then, it must be observed that there may have been, in many cases, a preparation, in the way of habit, for a total change of life, of which the persons themselves not only were not, but could

not be conscious. It is very hard in our own case, and nearly impossible in the case of others, to determine how far our good or bad conduct depends upon our external circumstances, how far we are in a state to insure the continuance of either upon a change of circumstances. The history of great characters, and almost everybody's observation upon a smaller scale, show that men frequently, upon a change of circumstances, appear on a sudden fit for things which even they themselves had not previously known their capacity of performing. It is not that, properly speaking, the change of circumstances *made* them fit, but that it *removed* some impediment to the development of a fitness which previously existed unperceived. In the same way, many minds may have been prepared for a conversion to God by a course of gradual but unconscious preparation, which put the mind into such a state that the continuance of its wrong direction depended upon the presence of something capable of being suddenly removed; and the sudden removal of which, consequently, appeared, both to the persons themselves and to others, to create a new set of habits in the mind. It is reasonable, I think, to suppose that something of this kind takes place with most good men at death. For we observe many, who are nevertheless sincere Christians, leave the world with habits of virtue apparently formed but imperfectly, and with evil habits still remaining. Nevertheless the *harvest* of their virtue may be *ripe for the sickle*. Almighty God may see, though we cannot, that the imperfection of their virtue, and the continuance of their vice, are now depending upon the influence of some external circumstances; and that such a change of circumstances as death will infallibly and at once give scope to their good principles to develop themselves completely, and remove entirely the sources of their present temptations. I must be permitted to add here some striking remarks which Mr. Sadleir³ made

³ Rev. William Digby Sadleir, Fellow of Trinity College, whose assistance in preparing this edition of Butler's *Analogy* is acknowledged in the Preface, as well as that of the Rev. Aubrey Townshend, whose letter I have already quoted.

upon the previous note, when I communicated it to him. "What you say of the possible effect of death, with good men, in giving scope for the sudden expansion of the various seeds of good principles that have been implanted in them, has often occurred to me, as what may be very *analogous* to what one reads of the sudden vegetation that takes place in northern latitudes on the removal of the covering of snow from the ground. One goes to bed, we are told, in those regions, with everything looking dreary and desolate as usual, and in the morning all nature is seen to have started up into glad existence and vigorous life. This world being viewed as under the dominion (to such a mysterious extent) of the prince of the power of the air, the removal of the good from it must have some very sudden and extraordinary effect. Isaac Taylor, in his 'Physical Theory of another Life,' says some very striking things on the *corresponding condition of the wicked* when removed from a scene where their evil principles are held in considerable check by peculiar providential arrangements."

As an example of the manner in which difficulties in Butler's work are elucidated, I may refer to the note subjoined to a sentence in the 'Dissertation on the Nature of Virtue,' which has often seemed strange to the readers of Butler. He speaks of the moral faculty 'whether considered as a sentiment of the understanding, or a perception of the heart; or, which seems the truth, as including both.' To this apparently misplaced assignment of sentiment to the understanding, and perception to the heart, the following note is appended:—

'Butler's meaning appears to be, that if it be referred to the understanding, it differs from other acts of the understanding, in partaking of the nature of feeling; and that if it be referred to the heart or feelings, it must be allowed to partake of the nature of perception. Compare the language of Adam Smith, in describing the system of Hutcheson. "This *sentiment* being of a peculiar nature distinct from every other, and the effect of a particular power of *perception*, they give it a particular name and call it a moral sense."—Part VI. chap. iii. p. 536.'

As we have arrived now at the period when, in 1846, Fitzgerald resumed professorial labours, it may not be amiss to give here a few extracts from a volume of very beautiful and instructive Sermons, published in the year 1847, which will serve to exhibit those religious views which he continued through life to hold and exemplify with unswerving consistency.

From the sermon on Phil. ii. 5-11—'Let this mind be in you,' &c., I take the following passage:—

'In the first place is set before us, Christ's pre-existent glory. "He was," says the Apostle, "in the form of God." The form of God is here manifestly opposed to the form of a servant, which He afterwards took upon Him. Now all creatures are God's servants. The highest honour of the highest angel in the hierarchy of heaven is to be the servant of the Almighty. He, therefore, who was so in the form of God as not to be in the form of a servant, stood himself in no rank of creation, but above it, as its Lord; and accordingly, the form of God is immediately afterwards explained by "being equal with God,"—sharing all that limitless power with which the Father wields the universe at His pleasure,—the owner of that frame of nature which the Father created by Him and for Him, the complete and adequate image of all those divine perfections which creature excellence, how high soever, can copy but inadequately; and all this naturally, as being, in the fullest sense, the Son of God, the brightness of His glory and express image of His person. This equality with God, Christ (the Apostle continues) thought not a robbery. The phrase is somewhat obscure, and perhaps (at least in modern English) not well chosen to express the sense of the original. The meaning is, that He thought it not a thing to be greedily retained, or earnestly insisted upon,—counted it not a prey, as men grasp most tenaciously that which they hold on a precarious title, which has been flung in their way by accident, or which they have wrested to themselves by force or fraud. When this meaning is once suggested to you, you will at once perceive its fitness, and even necessity, from the course and tenor of the context. He thought not being equal

with God a thing given him as a prey,—a thing to be made much of, and retained tenaciously,—but on the contrary He made himself of no reputation. He chose to appear in a form stripped and empty of all the grandeur which was His by right.’

With the foregoing passage may be coupled the following from a sermon on Ps. cx. 1-3:—

‘The office of King, which Jesus received at His resurrection, was bestowed by the Father,—bestowed as the reward of obedience, and is exercised in subordination to the Father. “Wherefore,” says the Apostle (Philip. ii. 9),—that is because he was obedient unto death,—“God also hath highly exalted him, and given him” (freely bestowed, ἐχαρίσατο) “a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, . . . and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.” So that the honour rendered to Christ in this capacity is an honour not terminating on Himself, but redounding ultimately to the Father’s glory. And we learn from the same Apostle, in 1 Cor. xv. 28, that even after this prophecy has been most fully satisfied, and all enemies completely subdued, such a subordination shall still continue, and for the same purpose: “And when all things” &c. That text is commonly misunderstood, as if the Son’s subjection were only to begin *then*; whereas what the Apostle manifestly means is that it shall *continue* even *then*. No one could doubt of its existence before, but the Apostle guards us against supposing that it ceases when all authority and power has been put down under the Son’s sceptre. . . . Christ, then, as Mediator, discharges an office subordinate to the Supreme, and the honour paid to Him in that capacity is consequently a subordinate honour; but in rendering it we are secured against idolatry, not only by the express command of God requiring us to render it, but by the additional information that Christ is no mere creature, but the eternal Son of God, essentially one with Him whose interpreter and representative He has become. The true security against Socinian abuses of this doctrine of Christ’s subordination to the Father lies not in putting

strained meanings upon those many texts of Scripture which recognise and enforce it,—not in dissembling or keeping back any part of their fair and natural sense,—but in *completing* the instruction which they give us, by bringing forward the supplemental texts which tell us something more.¹

From these statements on the supremacy of Christ we may pass to His sacrifice, and our relation to it by faith. From the sermon on the Resurrection preached on Easter Day, 1847, I take the following:—

‘Christ died a sacrifice for our sins. The precise nature of that impediment to immediate forgiveness, which this sacrifice removed, we are nowhere told, and, I think, cannot possibly discover. It were well if, warned by the silence of revelation, man had learnt the vanity of conjecturing in a region beyond the limits of knowledge. What we are concerned to know, and what we do know, is, that, as far as the penalty reaches, we in Him have died to sin. His resurrection is a proof that the mysterious work is finished, the sacrifice accepted, and the pardon secured. We in Him have died to sin that we may live to God. We are discharged from the penalties of sin, we are entitled to the inheritance of everlasting life, and that life consists in a change produced by His power in our souls and bodies, totally freeing our souls from the habits of vice, and our bodies from the accidents of mortality, it is the total renovation of our whole nature, both in soul and body, into Christ’s image. The condition upon which we are thus made partakers of Christ is faith. Trust in Him and in Him alone as the sufficient sacrifice for our iniquities. Trust in what He has done for us, as completely removing the only impediment which ever stood in the way of our free forgiveness; and consequently trust in God’s mercy and favour as now secured to the uttermost for all penitent and believing sinners.

‘But faith, saving faith, is also trust in Christ as the renewer of our souls to righteousness. It is a great and perilous error to regard that eternal life which Christ has brought us as something wholly future. It is not so: it is something present. We *have*, says the Apostle, everlasting

life. . . . It is the faith of the cripple, who, trusting to the new power given him, *rose up and walked*. It is not the passive belief that we are helpless in ourselves, it is not even the belief that He is able to help us, it is the active trust in that help; it is the doing of His will in reliance upon the strength He grants us, it is the working out of our own salvation in fear and trembling, knowing that it is God that worketh in us.'

With the foregoing description of saving faith we may couple the following from the sermon on 'Delaying Repentance: '—

'I have reserved for the last place the consideration of another more subtle and hardly less pernicious device by which we are sometimes tempted to banish the pain of remorse, without undergoing the trouble of repentance, which is the groundless presumption that, because perhaps we are now weary of some particular sin, and for the present little disposed to repeat it, we may forthwith appropriate to ourselves the free promises of the gospel, and expel at once those uneasy feelings which God has made the unfailing attendants upon guilt. . . . There is surely a wide difference between the assured sense that our sins have been forgiven (which is a healthy and profitable feeling that all Christians may and ought to attain to), and that forgetfulness of former guilt and present frailty, that carelessness for the past and for the future, which men who have never known one touch of true and genuine repentance at times produce, by hastily appropriating to themselves a message of pardon which was never meant for them, and promises which, in their true meaning, they have no desire to see fulfilled. . . . I do not offer you a Saviour who will save you *in* your sins, but one who, strong as may be your evil habits, is ready to redeem you from their power. You must not wait till you grow better. Seek earnestly to God through Him. There is nothing in heaven or earth or hell, nothing but your own unbelieving and coward heart, to bar your access to the throne of grace. . . . However strong your passions, however deeply rooted your evil habits, the Spirit of Christ is the very power of

God, the finger of Omnipotence, the all-prevailing energy of Him who made and governs all things. That Spirit is Christ's to bestow, and He will bestow it upon all who trust in Him. O turn and seek from Him this best of all gifts !'

I shall give one more passage, because it brings into prominence the work of the Holy Spirit. It is from the sermon on 'Christ the Second Adam.'

'The relationship which we bear to Adam is a fleshly one. It is by natural descent from him that we inherit that mortal, diseased and corrupted frame, from which sin and misery have sprung up among us. But the relationship to Christ is a spiritual relationship. They who through Him, and in Him, are the sons of God, have been born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, even of the word of God which liveth and abideth for ever. The connecting link by which the whole family in heaven and earth is united to its new and better head is the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of God ; an agent who ceaselessly opposes and counteracts that spirit of the world and of the flesh, by which Satan endeavours to turn us away from God. Man in the unassisted powers of his own nature, had proved unequal to the contest. It was necessary that a new and higher power should come to his aid, and work in him and with him, until the victory should be secured. This is the Spirit of Jesus Christ, which, by moulding us into the image of the triumphant second Adam, brings back to us that holiness and happiness which was lost by the calamity of the first.'

I have not selected these passages because they are the most striking or remarkable in this interesting and instructive volume of sermons. Indeed their great charm is in the more practical application to the hearts of his hearers. But I have chosen them as exemplifying those views of the fundamental principles of the gospel which formed the doctrinal basis of the author's pastoral teaching when he resumed the active labours of the ministry, and continued to guide his future teaching to the end of his life.

These sermons were preached in the church of Clontarf in the year 1847. He had accepted the Curacy of that parish

in the vicinity of Dublin, and on August 22, 1847, he was admitted to Priest's Orders by Archbishop Whately. About this time also he was married to Anne Frances, daughter of George Stoney, of Oakley Park in the King's County, and sister of G. Johnstone Stoney, Dr.Sc., F.R.S., well known both at home and abroad for his eminent scientific attainments; as also of Bindon B. Stoney, LL.D., F.R.S., M.I.C.E., who is the engineer of the port of Dublin, and author of several important works on engineering.

My acquaintance with Mrs. FitzGerald only began when she came to the palace of St. Finn Barr's, Cork, on her husband's appointment to that See in 1857. It was of short duration, as her death took place in 1859. To have enjoyed the friendship and occasional society of this most admirable person is one of the memories that have been fondly cherished by me through later years. That she was an invaluable help to her husband in his literary work is clear. Large portions of his Lectures both on Moral Philosophy and on Ecclesiastical History are in her handwriting. When his hand became weary of the pen, she took it and wrote from his dictation. Except for the difference of the handwriting it would be impossible to distinguish the portions written by each, as the Lectures now printed shew. I have reason to know that this co-operation was one of the causes which withheld the Bishop in after years from publishing these Lectures as he had intended. To the unwillingness to revert to writings that were thus associated with happiness too soon for ever at an end was conjoined the labour that it would have cost him in the midst of other duties to supply the needful references which he had almost invariably omitted, and which it has been our task, in such manner as we have been able, to supply. This labour he found impossible, since for many years, as he told me when I urged the publication on him, any continuous literary work made him ill.

His acceptance of the Curacy of Clontarf brought him into more immediate intercourse with Archbishop Whately, who formed a high estimate of his character and ability, took him into his more intimate friendship, making him in time his

chaplain, and then one of his Archdeacons, and giving him such preferments as he held until he was raised to the Episcopal Bench.

II.

Ministerial and Professorial Period.

We now come to a period when the subject of this memoir was to pass from a private student, giving to the world in his occasional writings the fruits of his study, and from the position of a parish clergyman, to that of a great University teacher, who was for many years to shed lustre on the University and to enlighten its more thoughtful students by the brilliancy of his genius, and from the vast stores of his learning. The professorship of Moral Philosophy had been founded in 1837, and was filled until his death in 1848 by William Archer Butler, whose genius is still held in admiration and his works in high esteem, both in England and Ireland. In one of the following Lectures there will be found a beautiful and affecting tribute to his worth. I shall not spoil that by adding anything to it. I shall only say that, though junior to me, he was one of my valued friends in college. We were both members of a Debating Society which met outside the walls of college. The old famous Historical Society had been suppressed for long years from political causes. Our meetings outside of college were, I believe, an infringement of discipline, but were allowed by a tolerant connivance. Butler was a frequent speaker at those meetings, and gave proof of the fervid imagination and great powers of thought and of eloquence by which he was afterwards distinguished. He was also a great humorist.

Cum stetit in scenâ, concurrît dextera lævæ.

Dixit adhuc aliquid ? Nil sanè. Quid placet ergo ?

The answer would be :

Surripuit plausus facie minitante facetum.

The fact was, he generally rose to speak when some amusing thought had caught his fancy. This produced on

his animated features a play of humorous expression which was greeted by laughter and applause. The payment thus made in advance was well rewarded, and followed by a second recognition.

When Archer Butler's premature death rendered the professorship of Moral Philosophy vacant, FitzGerald's well-known philosophical powers and great acquirements in that line marked him out as the new professor. His Lectures embraced Logic and Metaphysics in addition to the subject of Ethics properly so-called. They are characterised by great eloquence, often by no small amount of humour, but above all by profound thought. Although on these subjects so much has been done since then, and so many new lines of discussion have been in late years opened up, more especially since the notion of evolution has been extended from Natural History to Moral Science, or what professes to be science, these Lectures have still their native freshness. Indeed he frequently met by anticipation thoughts that have since assumed a prominence that they could not at that time have held. I may say the same of his notes to Butler's 'Analogy.' One valuable series of the Lectures is on the Ethics of Christianity. And a most interesting series on the Ethics of Aristotle has been consolidated to form the Introduction to a selection from the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle, which he published with invaluable notes for the use of the students of the University in 1850. A few extracts from the Introduction to this book, which, as I have said, embodies a short series of the Lectures, will serve to illustrate his manner of treatment and style in lecturing, as well as one of the leading principles of his philosophy, namely, the existence in man of an innate faculty, the moral sense, by which he distinguishes actions as right or wrong, as by reason he distinguishes them as useful or injurious.

'There have not been wanting some fanatical declaimers who have proscribed as *unchristian* the whole course of classical study pursued in this and other Universities. . . . The answer to this wild rant is easy and direct. If there were nothing else, the Bible itself has made such studies necessary. God,

whether we like it or not, has been pleased to make His great revelation to mankind in the Greek language; and competent skill in the criticism of that language can only be acquired by the study of the authors in whom alone it now exists. . . . If any study really needful for acquiring such a knowledge is objectionable, we cannot help that. It is the revealer Himself that has made it necessary. God has established an intimate connection on every side, between the Scriptures of truth and every department of human science and literature. . . .

‘Thus does Scripture cross at every turn the walks of human science and human learning; and however strange, at first sight, may appear the plan which encumbers it with such numerous, such complex, and such difficult studies, yet, upon a nearer view, we shall perceive that this very connection, while it makes continual provision for stimulating the intellect to the search of truth, makes provision also for the continual multiplication of the evidence of the divine origin of the Scriptures. Wherever the Bible has extended its testimony over subjects where human science and learning are competent witnesses also, it has exposed itself to the risk of contradiction and detection if it be false. . . . No human imposture has ever been able to stand the light of criticism and science, though confining itself to a single subject and extending to very narrow limits. There is no false witness that has not broken down under such a cross-examination as modern criticism and science are able to supply. When we find, then, such a revelation as that contained in Scripture, not only maintaining its credit under such severe and multiplied tests as are applied to it; when we find, not only that no engines of critical torture can wring from it such a self-contradiction or inconsistency as shall betray its falsity, but that science and literature continually, as they advance, confirm its testimony; that as fuller light breaks in, difficulties, instead of increasing, diminish; and that, the more it is brought into symmetry with a book, the latest of whose parts was written nearly eighteen centuries ago;—when we find thus, that the doctrines and morals of Scripture are “for all time,” and when

every research into antiquity shows that a book, whose spirit is thus superior to the spirit of its age, was nevertheless composed in the age when it pretends to have been composed ; —we see that the evidence, like the light of revelation, is a growing splendour, which “shineth more and more unto the perfect day.”

The courageous and unhesitating tone of this passage, from one who thoroughly knew all that criticism had been able to do up to his time, has been largely confirmed by more recent discoveries of ancient historical evidences during an interval of nearly thirty-five years which has been in respect to advancement in the branches of knowledge which bear on the subject equivalent to the preceding century. And if, while modern scientific *theories* do not really affect the fundamental principles of revealed religion, the real discoveries of modern science may require us to modify our interpretation of those parts of Scripture which hover between history and allegory, and plainly in any case embody both, this is only what the most profound of early Christian thinkers had long ago perceived in the light of their own days. The Book is still the book of the learned as well as of the unlearned.

We may now give some extracts that more immediately concern the subject of Aristotle's Ethics:—

‘The portions of Aristotle's Ethics here presented to the reader are essentially *descriptive*. They are exquisitely finished and exact delineations of that conduct which, as a matter of fact, a well constituted mind approves ; and the whole of Aristotle's moral system is grounded upon the existence of a principle within us which approves of virtue, and disapproves of vice, as such, and *for their own sakes*. . . . It will be proper to mark distinctly the point of difference between the system of Aristotle and that of the modern Utilitarians. It is not that Aristotle doubts or denies the tendency of virtuous conduct to produce the greatest attainable happiness of man, or that a reasonable being requires to be satisfied that, in pursuing virtue, he pursues happiness. But it is that he denies this tendency to produce happiness to

be that which *constitutes* actions virtuous, or a regard to it the motive from which the virtuous man, as such, acts virtuously. The happiness of which he speaks is the happiness which springs from the pursuit of virtue for its own sake. . . . The virtuous man is not like the charioteer, whose gaze is ever fixed on the goal; but rather like the rower, who, struggling with the tide and intent upon his present work, approaches the unseen harbour where he would be. . . . The reality of a moral faculty in man is thus assumed throughout by Aristotle as the basis of his ethical system. He assumes its existence, as a matter of fact, to which every man's consciousness can testify; and it seems worth observing, that the arguments by which the existence of such a faculty is commonly impugned are essentially *sceptical* arguments. They are precisely the same kind of arguments as those by which professed sceptics have endeavoured to show (or seem to show) that there is no such thing as a rational faculty. They are generally founded upon the gross insensibility to moral distinctions exhibited by uneducated children or savage nations; or instances of persons who from various causes have counted those things right which we commonly deem wrong. . . . Crimes, they tell us, have by some been considered virtues, and virtues crimes. Be it so. But then this proves, at any rate, that, however mistaken in the object, these men had the same sentiment of moral approbation and disapprobation as we have, which furnished them with the ideas of right and wrong, specifically distinct from those of prudent, useful, foolish, or pernicious; that the moral like the rational faculty needs to be educated. . . . Indeed, it is strange to see how this confusion between an innate moral faculty and innate maxims of morality has imposed upon some of the clearest thinkers.⁴

⁴ A few sentences from the *Life of Butler* prefixed to the edition of the 'Analogy' will shew that the writer was not insensible to the possible supposition of the derivative nature of conscience and the moral faculty, as maintained by Mackintosh, and brought by modern theories of evolution into greater prominence in more recent times:—

'There is no family likeness whatever between the moral sense and the modes of pleasure and pain to which its origin is attempted to be traced.

One extract more from the close of this Introduction will suffice. It will be found to bear significantly upon some modern organisations for promoting virtue, besides its value in a more general way :—

‘ It is much more flattering to a man’s vanity (and therefore much more agreeable to most persons) to believe that the austerities which his own previous vice and present frailty render necessary are themselves the highest and most perfect virtue; that living in an hospital is the best indication of health; and those who make morals for the popular market will, therefore, find it expedient to adopt this false representation. Nor will the popular market fail of being supplied in every age with a morality suitable to the demands of each succeeding generation. It is not in moral science as in physical, where there is boundless room for new accessions, discoveries of new facts, generalisations of new laws—without disturbing old foundations. Novelty in ethics must be fundamental novelty; and as in matters of social economy, religion and morals, *all* seem to think themselves capable of judging *extempore* and without a systematic education, fundamental novelties in ethics may be safely propounded without risk of that universal ridicule with which fundamental novelties in physics would be met. Politics and morals do not stand so completely upon the correct *theory* of each, but that men may pass for politicians and moralists without being acquainted with it; and hence, in these sciences, old errors continually revive and old truths tend to slip out of memory. It is

It is a sentiment *sui generis*, and as little indicating, in itself or its accompaniments, composition, or derivation, as any other principle of our minds. Nor, when we consider how early in life strong traces of its influence may be discovered, will it seem probable to account for its phenomena by such a long and complex process of association as Mackintosh supposes. . . . It may give us a theoretic account of the way in which that supremacy [of conscience] is attained. But, if there be, as undoubtedly there is, in the human mind, an indestructible sense of *right*, no matter how acquired, and if, upon comparing the dictates of our various faculties together, we feel ourselves compelled to pronounce that the dictate of conscience *ought* to be followed in all cases; these *facts* set the doctrine, for all practical purposes, upon so stable a basis, as to need no support from the frail buttresses of speculation.’ (pp xxv.-xxvi.)

surely a prejudice to think that the moderns *must* have the same advantage over the ancients in moral as in physical science. In physics, the phenomena were (from a defect of *organs* of investigation) beyond the reach of the old philosophers. So far as sagacity could reach in conjecturing, they guessed rather better than their successors. The guess of Pythagoras was nearer the truth than that of Tycho Brahe. Where they had the materials of knowledge it does not appear that they fell short of us in making use of them. Euclid's Elements are not yet superseded as an introduction to pure geometry.

‘Now the phenomena of morals were thus within the reach of the ancient Greeks;—to some extent, no doubt, distorted phenomena,—presented under a false aspect through the peculiar prejudices of the times. But what times are they wherein moral and social phenomena are not thus distorted? This is a difficulty with which *all* ages have to contend, our own as well as those preceding us; and since it is unquestionably easier to appreciate and *allow for* their prejudices than our own, may it not be advantageous for correcting these latter to survey moral objects through those ancient glasses, which have flaws in them (if you will), but not exactly the same flaws as the modern?’

Having given these specimens of FitzGerald's style and manner of treatment and views in the discussions proper to his professorship, we may return to the simple incidents of his personal history. In the year 1848 Professor FitzGerald received from Archbishop Whately his first preferment, the parish of Donoughmore in the county of Wicklow, forming the corps of a prebend of that title in the Cathedral of St. Patrick, Dublin. He was collated on February 16, and installed in the Cathedral on March 9 in that year. He entered at once on the duties of the parish, which was some distance from Dublin, attending to them in person, except during term time while performing the duties of his professorship. This parish he held until late in the year 1851, when he resigned it for the Vicarage of St. Anne's in the city of Dublin.

In the year 1849 was issued by the Parker Society its edition of 'Whitaker's Disputation on Holy Scripture against Bellarmine and Stapleton,' translated and illustrated with notes by the Rev. William FitzGerald, A.M., Prebendary of Donoughmore in the Cathedral of St. Patrick, and Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin.' The Parker Society, whose first publication was issued in 1841, was instituted for the purpose of printing the writings of the principal English Reformers. It was hoped that these writings would form an antidote to the growing influence in a Romeward direction of the 'Tracts for the Times,' and other publications of men of the same school of thought. As long as the works of the English Reformers were only to be found in old and expensive folios, and often only in public libraries, they had the benefit of the maxim '*Omne ignotum pro mag-nifico.*' When they were consulted, their ponderous style, proper to their time, was found to accord with the ponderous volumes in which they were contained, and they suited well the use to which they were applied, that of documents of historical value. When they came to be circulated in modern form amongst a large number of general readers, they certainly caused no small degree of disappointment. Learned they certainly were in the learning of their time. Heavy they were assuredly from the style prevalent in that day in theological writings, as well as from the Scholastic method in which their subject matter was treated. They had the faults as well as the good qualities of their time; but transferred to our times, they no doubt were very unattractive to most readers. It was thought also that the editorial work was in several cases entrusted to men whose qualifications for the task were not of a high order. The work of these editors was of course subjected to severe criticism, and many mistakes, sometimes very absurd mistakes, were exposed. The consequence of this criticism was that the council found it necessary to look out for editors more competent to the task. Amongst others they obtained the services of Dr. Richard Gibbings and Professor FitzGerald, both of Trinity College, Dublin. The work entrusted to the latter must have imposed

great labour, and was not likely to be rewarded with much fame. Indeed to edit one of the works in this extensive series was to hide one's candle under a bushel, or to bury the needle of one's wits in a bundle of hay. Whitaker's book was really a work of very great learning, according to the lights of that day, and is full of valuable matter. The editor's work was to translate it from Latin to English, and to subjoin notes when necessary. The notes in this case are highly valuable, consisting of exact copies of the quotations made by the author, amongst which are interspersed numerous brief illustrations and remarks, supplementing the imperfect knowledge of the time or correcting mistakes. If one will take this work in hand and read the notes appended, referring to the passages in the text to which they apply, he will derive no small amount of instruction, and I may add, occasionally of entertainment. The brevity of these notes will render the needful time and pains but small, while one will gain a tolerable acquaintance with one of the most learned works of the entire series. I subjoin a part of the Preface, as illustrating the writer's style in drawing characters :—

'It seemed desirable that this, the great work of one of the greatest of our early divines upon the cardinal point of difference between the Churches of the Roman and the Reformed communions, should be comprised in the collection of the Parker Society; not only on account of its intrinsic merits, but also for its historical value; as exhibiting the posture of defence assumed by our schools against that change of tactics in the management of this great controversy, which is to be dated from the institution of the Society of Jesus.

'William Whitaker (or Whitacre) was born at Holme, in Lancashire, A.D. 1547, of a good family, nearly related to Alexander Nowel, the celebrated Dean of St. Paul's. He was bred at Cambridge, where he soon distinguished himself, and was in 1579 appointed the Queen's Professor of Divinity. In 1586, through the influence of Burghley and Whitgift, and in spite of obstinate and powerful opposition, he was made Master of St. John's College in that University;

soon after which appointment he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity. His delay in assuming the doctorate seems curious, and it was maliciously made the ground of a most unjust imputation of Puritanism. How small was his sympathy with the Disciplinary party, appears from the manner in which he speaks of their great leader, Cartwright, in a letter preserved by Bancroft: "I have read through a great part of the small book which Cartwright has lately issued. That I might not live, if I ever saw anything more rambling, and almost more puerile. He has indeed a sufficiently grand and novel furniture of words, of matter none at all, as far as I am able to judge. Then he not only thinks perversely of the authority of the prince in sacred and ecclesiastical affairs, but he even deserts to the camp of the Papists; from whom, however, he wishes to seem to dissent with capital hatred. But he is not only not to be tolerated in this cause, but in others also he borrows weapons from the Papists. In fine, as Jerome said of Ambrose, he sports with words, slumbers in thoughts, and is not worthy to be refuted by any learned man."⁵

But though far removed from the Disciplinary tenets of the Puritans, he undoubtedly agreed with them in their hostility to the Arminian opinions, which in his time began to prevail in the Church of England. . . . Whitaker died in 1595, in the forty-seventh year of his age. He was married and had eight children. It was pleasantly said of him that he gave the world a child and a book every year. Of his children I have nothing to communicate, and his books will speak for themselves. They gained for him in his lifetime a high character and reputation. "I have," says the writer of his life in Lupton's 'Protestant Divines,' "I have heard it confessed of English Papists themselves, which have been in Italy with Bellarmine himself, that he procured the true portraiture and effigies of this *Whitaker* to be brought to him, which he kept in his study. For he privately admired this man for his learning and ingenuity; and being asked by some

⁵ I have translated this letter from the Latin in which it is presented in the Preface.

of his friends, Jesuits, why he would have the picture of that heretic in his presence? he would answer that 'although he was an heretic, and his adversary, yet he was a learned adversary.' (p. 359.) "

" "He was," says Gataker, "tall of stature and upright; of a grave aspect, with black hair and a ruddy complexion; a solid judgment, a liberal mind, an affable disposition, a mild, yet no remiss governor; a contemner of money; of a moderate diet, a life generally unblameable, and (that which added a lustre to all the rest) amidst all these endowments, and the respects of others (even the greatest) thereby deservedly procured, of a most meek and lowly spirit." "Who," asks Bishop Hall, "ever saw him without reverence or heard him without wonder!" . . . There is a prolixity in Whitaker's style, which contrasts unfavourably with the compactness of his great antagonist, Bellarmine; though he trespasses less upon the student's patience than Stapleton, whose verbose rhetoric made him admired in his own day, and whose subtlety of logic cannot save him from neglect in ours.'

In January 1851 appeared the first number of the remarkable series of papers known as the 'Cautions for the Times.' These were issued periodically until some time in the year 1853, the last but one being dated April 1853, the last of all having no date. These papers treat of all the religious questions that stirred the public mind at that time; the Papal Aggression, the controversy with the Church of Rome, the Oxford Tract movement, the objections of sceptics to the Christian religion, forming the principal topics of discussion. They had large circulation at home and in the colonies, and were reprinted in America, and in 1856 were collected and reprinted in a single volume, edited by the Archbishop of Dublin. In the preface the Archbishop said he had received assistance from several friends, but he says, 'the share I have myself had in the several parts of it has been very various. To some numbers I have contributed the half or more than half; to others much less.' At the same time he had revised them all, and took the whole responsibility on himself. It was then and still is generally supposed that FitzGerald had a

large share in their preparation. In later years I found him reticent as to his part in their preparation, I think because he seemed always to undervalue his past work. A friend with whom he sometimes corresponded, the Rev. C. H. Davis, of Littleton Drew, near Chippenham, has kindly sent me a letter of October 6, 1859, an extract from which will show to some extent his part in this work. 'The Archbishop's work and mine in the "Cautious" are for the most part so blended that it would be as hard to separate them as to strip the embroidery from Martin's coat. Some, as No. VII. and XXIX. and No. XXIII., and a few more, are nearly, if not quite all, mine.' He must have done more which was put into different form by the Archbishop. Thus there exists a MS. of one which certainly was not printed, though the leading ideas and sometimes the words were reproduced.

A passage in No. XXIX., acknowledged by the Bishop, has a history which I shall give. It illustrates in a remarkable way the impression his sermons made on thoughtful hearers. About five-and-twenty years ago, when he was Bishop of Cork, I took him a paper I had written on the Epistles of St. Peter, which I afterwards printed at his desire in the 'Journal of Sacred Literature.' Thinking I might like to see it, he then gave me a sermon he had preached in the Chapel of Trinity College in November 1850, on the same subject as my paper, though pursuing a different line of investigation. This sermon I kept as a prized and cherished memento, until within the last few months I had a letter from Dr. Salmon, the Regius Professor of Divinity, saying that Dr. Gwynn, Archbishop King's Professor of Divinity, had told him that he had retained a lively remembrance of an important sermon preached by FitzGerald a great many years ago on the genuineness of the Second Epistle of St. Peter, in the College Chapel; and Dr. Salmon asked me could I help to get him a sight of this sermon? Of course I was happy to be able to send it to him. But presently I found verified what has often been noticed, that when one lends a book or document that has lain by him untouched for long years, he has scarcely parted with it when he finds some unexpected need of referring to it.

Before sending the sermon I read it over again with renewed delight, and in a couple of days, having arrived at this part of the present narrative, I took in hand the 'Cautions for the Times.' In the last of these I was struck by observing that the motto prefixed was part of the text of the sermon, 2 Peter i. 16: 'We have not followed cunningly devised fables' etc. Beyond this, however, I noticed nothing remarkable of the same kind, till I got to the latter part of the number, and then I found I was reading what I had read a few days before in the sermon just mentioned, the latter portion being with some slight variations identical with part of the sermon.

Dr. Salmon expressed, when acknowledging the loan of the sermon I have mentioned, a wish that it might be included in the present volumes. Instead of that, it will for the present suffice if I give, what my readers will be thankful for, so much of it as is included in the 'Caution' just spoken of. This I do from the MS. itself:—

'The text before us,' viz. 2 Peter i. 16–18, 'We have not followed cunningly devised fables' &c. . . . 'shews us that the allegation of a mythic origin was a prejudice which Christianity had to meet in the outset, and that it was met and surmounted in the only possible way, by the testimony of eye-witnesses to plain matter of fact, that the basis on which no mythical system ever stood or can stand, was the very basis on which Christianity rested from the beginning. From the very nature of the case, indeed, it could not have been otherwise. If the idea of the facts—the miraculous facts of Christianity—occurred to the Apostles at all, they must have thought of them as things to be *proved*. They must have felt that their own safety was compromised in the matter, and that however ready themselves to adopt it without proof, the story, *e.g.*, of Christ's resurrection, could not be grateful to the priests and people reeking with the blood of a murdered Messiah. No mythic legend was ever generated in such circumstances as these. The genuine myth not only seems self-evident to its inventor, but is supposed by himself evident to others. Question it at its rise, or suppose it

questioned, and you put an end to it at once. If the mind be once arrested between the premises and the conclusion, the fanciful shell which binds them together is broken, and it becomes as impossible to bind them again, as it is to dream when we are awake. Whatever is framed under such conditions may be a conjecture, a theory, or an invention, but it cannot be a myth. Still less could a myth have been successfully *propagated* under the circumstances supposed. The personal character of the great Teacher of Nazareth may have produced as strong impression as you please upon his immediate followers, but to talk of an impression made upon a vast multitude who never could have known him familiarly by a private man who never performed any dazzling exploit, who was crucified, dead, and buried, and whose body lay still in the tomb—an impression so strong as to alter all their strongest national prejudices, revolutionise the faith of their childhood, and make them ready to believe upon no evidence at all that He must have risen from the grave—this is to talk such nonsense as infidelity alone can venture upon talking, when engaged in the desperate task of evading miracles. In the most mythical age that ever was this would have been impossible. It is in the soil of minds unshaken in their belief, and warmed by the sympathetic credulity of those around them, that such plants as these can spring and flourish. Thus the nature of the case, no less than the historic documents, shews plainly that Christianity must have from the first pretended at least to stand upon the ground of testimony. With such pretensions it arose in an enlightened and sceptical age amongst a despised and narrow-minded people, earning hatred and persecution at home by its liberal genius, and contempt abroad by its connection with the country where it was born, but which sought to strangle it in its birth. Emerging from Judaea, and making its way outward through the most polished regions of the globe—Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece, Rome—it attracted notice but to provoke hostility. Successive massacres and attempts at extermination prosecuted for years together by the whole power of the Roman Empire it bore without resistance, and drew

fresh strength and vigour from the axe ; but assaults in the way of argument, from whatever quarter, it met and over-turned with argument ; and whether attacked or not was resolutely aggressive. In four centuries it had pervaded the civilised world and made extensive attacks upon barbarism. It had gathered all genius and all learning into itself and made the literature of the world its own. It survived the inundations of the barbarous tribes, and conquered the world once more by converting its conquerors to the faith. It survived—the one sanctuary of knowledge—an age of barbarism. It survived the restoration of letters. It survived an age of free inquiry, and has long stood its ground in the field of argument, and commanded the intelligent assent of the greatest minds that ever were. It has been the parent of civilisation and the nurse of learning ; and if light and humanity and freedom are the special boast of modern Europe, it is to Christianity she owes them. Exhibiting in the life of the Redeemer a picture varied and minute of the perfect human united with the Divine—in which from that day to this the mind of man has not been able to find a deficiency or detect a blemish—a picture copied from no model and rivalled by no copy—it has satisfied the wants of universal man, and accommodated itself to every period and every clime, and retained through every change that salient spring of life which enables it to throw off corruption, and repair decay, and renew its youth amidst outward hostility and internal divisions. Yet this religion and all its moral miracles—this mighty impulse which no time or space can check or spend—proceeded, we are told, from a mythic legend casually produced in the fancies of some Galilean peasants. The moral world of modern civilisation has sprung from the fortuitous concourse of some atoms of mythology in the brains of unknown somebodies. Credulous as Christians may be thought by their opponents, we profess ourselves too sceptical to receive such an account as this. Nor is it probable indeed that it will long continue popular with any reflecting persons. “ Non usque adeo desperandum est de sensibus humanis, ut talia persuaderi posse credantur.” Having

served its turn, it will be cast aside for some newer theory more suitable to the changing fashion of unbelief.'

This sermon was preached on November 24, 1850. The prediction contained in the closing sentences has since been verified by the more recent theories to which scepticism has shifted its ground of attack on the Christian faith. This passage, it will be seen hereafter, had a curious subsequent history.

In the last of the 'Cautions for the Times,' I find the following footnote: 'See *Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Bonaparte*, and also *Historic Certainties*.' The latter of the works thus mentioned, 'Historic Certainties respecting the early History of America, by Aristarchus Newlight,' was printed in 1851. A copy of it was given to me by FitzGerald after he became a Bishop, but without any intimation of its authorship. I have no doubt he was the author of this counterpart to the 'Historic Doubts,' by Archbishop Whately, and it was probably written by his suggestion, though of this I speak only conjecturally. It represents the writer as having got possession of an ancient document which is given in full. This is an account of the French Revolution and the wars of the First Napoleon, drawn up after the manner of the historical books of the Old Testament, proper names of places and persons being represented by ingenious anagrams. This is then discussed after the manner of Strauss and other German sceptics in treating the Scriptural history, the design being to show that the early history of America has been in this document overlaid with mythical stories and narratives of impossible events; and many learned notes, chiefly etymological, illustrate the way in which these critics treat names in the Scriptural writings. The whole is extremely able and at the same time highly entertaining, though in regard to its public reputation it was, as might have been expected, overshadowed by its already famous predecessor, the 'Historic Doubts.'

In July 1851 he resigned the prebendal stall and parish of Donoughmore, being promoted by the Archbishop to the Vicarage of St. Anne's in the city of Dublin, rendered vacant

by the promotion of Dr. West, the present Dean of St. Patrick's, to the Archdeaconry of Dublin, both becoming joint secretaries of the Archbishop. This parish brought him into immediate proximity to the Archbishop, and his preaching in that church drew a large following of thoughtful hearers. Consequent on his more constant intercourse from this time with the Archbishop, there must have been many occasions of high discourse unhappily lost to the world. Two great minds in general accord, but perfectly independent, could not have been much in contact without the occurrence of many scenes of the deepest interest, enlivened by brilliant coruscations of wit, in which faculty both were so great masters. Many pleasant stories and good sayings of both were current in society, and may even still be often heard. It is not my intention to repeat any of them here. The merriment that gives life to conversation is only meant for conversation, and when reduced to writing afterwards is apt to seem flat, unless quickened into new life by the unauthentic additions of the narrator.

Meanwhile he continued to fulfil the duties of the Professorship of Moral Philosophy until circumstances called him to another chair. In the year 1850 the Primate, Lord John George Beresford, having given a benefaction for the purpose, a Professorship of Ecclesiastical History was founded in the University of Dublin. The first professor was Dr. Samuel Butler, a Fellow of Trinity College at that time, afterwards Regius Professor of Divinity, and finally Lord Bishop of Meath. In the year 1852 the Regius Professor, Dr. Singer, was promoted to the Bishopric of Meath, and late in the same year Dr. Butler was appointed Regius Professor, but did not vacate the chair of Ecclesiastical History until the vacation of the following year. In the meantime, as will be seen from the Introductory Lecture on the English Reformation in these volumes, he asked Fitzgerald, now become Dr. FitzGerald, having taken his degree in spring, 1853, to take his place and carry into effect his own design of tracing the rise and progress of the English Reformation. To this request we owe the very valuable

series which forms the last in these volumes, but was, at least in part, the first delivered. Later in this year he was himself appointed professor in succession to Dr. Butcher, and in the Michaelmas term delivered his Introductory Lecture on his own account, vacating the chair of Moral Philosophy. The present Lectures were heard by successive classes with profound interest, and the impression they made has never faded from the minds of those who attended them; and ever since it has been the earnest desire, expressed on every hand, that they should be given to the world. The present Bishop of Cork has told me that he, when a student in Trinity College, formed one of a deputation that waited on him to desire their publication, and there can be no doubt that he intended, as he then signified, to comply with this request. The duties on which he entered when he became Bishop of Cork rendered that impracticable for a time, and then other causes occasioned the postponement of it, till the declining strength of a constitution always feeble, rendered continuous literary work impossible. I have already intimated that they were partly dictated, and written by the hand of Mrs. FitzGerald. Her death in 1859 made him very unwilling to touch the MSS. After that terrible blow Archbishop Whately strongly urged him to set about the publication. His chaplain, Dr. Webster, writes: 'At the close of one letter he said (I think these were his very words), "You know how one that is gone would be glad to see you at the work. Perhaps she could see you—who can tell?"' If he could have at once set about the task, he might then have accomplished it. The care of a very laborious diocese hindered it then. The speedy removal to Killaloe, with the task it involved of becoming acquainted with a new diocese, caused fresh delay, until at last it became an undertaking for which he felt he had not strength. The exertions which the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland made necessary were indeed as much as he was latterly capable of, in addition to his own immediate work at home. And thus it has become our task, to restore those Lectures which had become disarranged, and were partly defective from occasional portions having been transferred to other purposes.

Whatever we have done in this way is explained at the proper places. The manner in which the subject is treated renders them independent of any more recent investigations. They have all the freshness of a new work about them, and might have been written recently with scarcely a variation from their original form and substance.

In the January of 1854 was issued the first number of the 'Irish Church Journal, and Literary and Theological Review,' continued monthly under this title for two years, and for another year under the altered name of the 'United Church Journal.' Of this well-conducted journal Dr. FitzGerald was one of the editors. It may, and no doubt does, contain some anonymous articles from his pen, which I do not attempt to trace. It contained, however, one of the Lectures on Ecclesiastical History *in extenso*, and portions of two or three others which we have been able to identify and restore to their proper places in these volumes.

On May 30, 1855, Dr. FitzGerald was collated by Archbishop Whately, Archdeacon of Kildare, and this office he held until he was advanced to the Bishopric of Cork, being then succeeded in the Archdeaconry by the eminent Dr. John Gregg, who afterwards succeeded him in the Bishopric of Cork. And in the following June he was installed into the prebendal stall of Timothan in St. Patrick's Cathedral, thus returning to that Chapter of which he had ceased to be a member when he resigned Donoughmore for the Vicarage of St. Anne's. Between this date and his advancement to the Bishopric of Cork, he became Incumbent of Monkstown, properly 'Hill of the Grange,' near Dublin. In 1850 he published a sermon entitled 'The Connection of Morality with Religion,' and in 1855, during the time of the Crimean War, he printed another sermon, 'National Humiliation a step towards Amendment.' Thus occupied he pursued his course, until the death of Dr. James Wilson, on January 5, 1857, opened the door for his advancement to a new sphere. Dr. Wilson, who had been himself also a former chaplain to Archbishop Whately, held the Bishopric of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross till the date just mentioned. Lord Carlisle, the Lord-

Lieutenant, immediately recommended Dr. FitzGerald to the Queen as Dr. Wilson's successor. He was accordingly raised to that See by patent bearing date February 7, 1857, and on the 8th March following he was consecrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral, by the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishops of Down and Limerick; he was enthroned in Cloyne Cathedral on March 16, and in Cork Cathedral on March 18.

From the time already mentioned, when I saw him in the vestry at St. Patrick's in 1839, I had never come into contact with him until just after his consecration. Buried myself in remote country parishes, I very seldom went to Dublin, and when I did go it was only for a hurried visit. But just at the time I am now speaking of, I went to Dublin to vote at an election for the members of Parliament for the University, when the Provost of Trinity College, Dr. Richard MacDonnell, invited me to the Provost's house to meet my new Bishop. In the course of the evening he took me aside, made me sit by him, and asked me a great many questions about his future diocese. From thence began an intimacy which lasted for more than twenty-six years, kept alive partly by personal intercourse, partly by constant interchange of letters. Of his letters to me during this period I possess a very large number, having always carefully preserved them. They are mainly on subjects connected with our common studies, sometimes on questions of the day, and other incidental and personal matters. They are full of wisdom, learning, and wit. I have not yet brought myself to engage in the work of arranging these letters, striking out what should meet no eye but my own, and dealing with them then as might be thought desirable. That he frequently corresponded with men of eminence and learning I have reason to know from many references to such correspondence in his letters to myself. Whether any of his letters to these correspondents are in existence I have no means of knowing, beyond a few kindly sent me by Mr. Davis already mentioned.⁶

⁶ If any reader who possesses such letters will entrust them to me, or furnish me with copies, I shall feel truly thankful.

III.

Period of his Episcopate.

As soon as ever the necessary repairs of the palace were completed, the Bishop took up his abode in Cork. He brought with him as his chaplain, the Rev. George Webster, who had been a Curate in the diocese of Dublin, and whom he collated soon after to the Chancellorship of the Cathedral of Cork and the Rectory of St. Nicolas in that city, attached thereto. From the first, beyond the official assistance Dr. Webster rendered to the Bishop, he was allowed by him to pursue his own course in other ways with perfect independence. His great and commanding intellect, unceasing energy, and remarkable power of organisation have ever since enabled him to render great and lasting services to the cause of religion and charity. While he has exercised a great influence on the religious feelings of a large section of the community, he has been eminently successful in the establishing of several important institutions, the last being the completion of a residential Hall in proximity to the Queen's College, for students belonging to the Church of Ireland. It seems right to say this much here, as the name of Dr. Webster has been officially associated with that of the Bishop ever since the commencement of his episcopate, not only in Cork but subsequently in Killaloe, where to the last he attended the Bishop from time to time, for the more public occasions on which he required the services of a chaplain.

When the Bishop entered on his work, the first matter of importance that attracted his attention was the great extent to which the country parishes were devoid of glebe-houses, or of residences within them that might be hired. The consequence of this was that the incumbents of surrounding parishes took up their residence in the more central country towns. If in this way the parishes were deprived of the actual presence of their incumbents, the towns derived no

doubt a great social advantage. It was easier, however, to see the wrong that was thus done to the parishes than to remedy it. As the law then was, the incumbent who wished to build or renew a parochial residence was obliged to advance the entire cost, while the clergy were seldom possessed of considerable private means. Though this money was to be repaid, in whole or in part as the case might be, at the termination of the incumbency, it was liable at the same time to deductions for dilapidations, often serious when the incumbency was prolonged. In the meantime the country towns were very pleasant places of residence. They had most of the advantages to be found in a Cathedral Close, without the disadvantage of too great proximity. The Bishop, both in private and in his primary Charge, endeavoured to correct what was an undoubted abuse, but somewhat more in theory such than in practice: At any rate it made matter of scandal to those who were opposed to the Establishment of the Church. Many will remember a very amusing speech made in the House of Commons a good many years ago by the late Mr. Bernal Osborne, in which he talked of 'nice agreeable Mallow,' and made the most of the state of things I have mentioned. In his endeavour to correct it, the Bishop never acted in an arbitrary or unreasonable manner. He was in many cases successful; in others he recognised difficulties that could not be overcome. The slight flutter that this occasioned was soon over. And though in his whole government of the diocese he acted with firmness, the justice of his administration and the uniform kindness of his manner and his perfect good temper soon won him the confidence of his clergy. How little arbitrary he was may be judged from the fact that while many of the clergy of that day were strenuously opposed to the system of education supported by the National Board, and the Bishop on the other hand was strongly in favour of it, he never used any compulsion in this matter, though he might have used a moral compulsion if he chose to employ his patronage in forwarding his own views.

The Bishop's primary Charge was delivered in October 1857. It was afterwards published under the title 'The

Duties of the Parochial Clergy.' But apart from this its principal subject matter, it has a special interest from the circumstances of the time. The Indian Mutiny, with all its horrid details, was then occupying the thoughts of all, and the early part of the Charge has some reflections on it which are now full of interest to such as remember those harrowing events. I subjoin therefore a few extracts from it:—

'Amidst the scene of horrors which has been so suddenly opened to our view, we cannot but derive some comfort from the reflection that the Church, as such, seems wholly clear from the blame of having provoked them by any indiscretion of its ministers. . . . At the commencement, indeed, when the dreadful news first broke upon us, there were some, who ought to have known better, who were inclined to throw a great share of the blame upon the operations of our missionaries. . . . In effect, as you know, the present outbreak has not taken place amongst that part of the population of British India to which the missionaries had access, but amongst those who were most jealously guarded from their influence; and so far as the immediate cause or pretext of the Mutiny was religious at all, it was in no way directly connected with anything that the Church had done, or could do, but with a supposed interference, on the part of the State, with the superstitious laws of caste. . . . The Brahminical and Mahometan institutions are founded on fables and prejudices that can only subsist in an imperfect state of knowledge and civilisation, and can no more bear the presence of true science and religion than

Night and all her sickly dews,
Her forms obscene, and birds of boding cry,

can abide the presence of the dawn. And it was not unnatural, therefore, that men, whose power and privileges were staked upon the maintenance of such fables and such prejudices, should, when they thought they had the power, endeavour, as all forms of paganism have always endeavoured, to crush by violence the light that detected their impostures. . . .

of events with which Theophilus was personally acquainted, and therefore he needed no fresh information upon that subject. Of what Paul or Luke said or did at Rome he was perfectly cognisant. What he required was an account of their previous adventures, and that accordingly is supplied.

LECTURE IV.

NEANDER, AND THE GIFT OF TONGUES.

GENTLEMEN,—I spent some time in my last lecture in endeavouring to explain the nature of that important document to which chiefly we are indebted for a knowledge of the events immediately succeeding the resurrection of Christ. And, from the account which I then gave, you will not be surprised to find that considerable difficulties attend one in attempting to reduce all the transactions which it records into their exact chronological order. This is a difficulty attending almost all inartificial narratives that extend themselves over any lengthened period of time or cover any great variety of facts, and it is apt to occur in such cases even where the relators are themselves perfectly aware of the true chronology. Indeed it often occurs from this very circumstance, since from this very circumstance (of his own perfect acquaintance with the chronology) it will often happen that the relator will feel no difficulty in a statement which to readers destitute of that information will cause some perplexity. And it is a considerable cause of perplexity to us, in arranging the narratives of the sacred writers, that these authors have not adhered to any one fixed principle for regulating the order of succession in their histories. Sometimes the suggesting medium which connects two parts of their narrative is the order of time, sometimes it is some likeness in character between two discourses or events. Sometimes, after relating a transaction, they turn back abruptly to tell something which accounts for it, or leap forward over a great interval to some of its remote consequences.

All these are merely the results of an inartificial style, and want of skill in historical composition. They are not, as infidel critics pretend, any mark of the want of real accurate knowledge concerning the facts on the part of relators who tell them thus confusedly. To suppose that accurate knowledge is the only quality requisite for a good historian, is to make a mistake as great as the vulgar error about rhetoric, supposing that he who thinks clearly will always express himself clearly. The truth is that some of the clearest thinkers have been some of the most obscure and perplexed writers, not from affectation like Heraclitus, but through not perceiving that their own expressions were likely to prove obscure to others. To themselves those expressions were, of course, perfectly intelligible, because they themselves knew the meaning beforehand; and they did not (which is the foundation of the rules of rhetoric) put themselves into the condition of strangers, and divest themselves of all reference to this previous knowledge, in order to bring the general clearness of their language to a fair test. From similar sources arises the perplexity and confusion of a narrative told by one who is not careful to consider the state of mind in which persons previously quite unacquainted with the circumstances of the case would come to the study of his writings.

In the artificial style of composition, the writer accommodates himself to the mind of the readers. In the inartificial, the reader is obliged to accommodate himself as he best can to the mind of the writer, to discover the train of his thoughts and conjecture the principles which suggest their succession.

Accordingly, such inartificial compositions are a searching test of the fairness, docility, and penetration of a critic. They are a 'stone of stumbling and a rock of offence' to the hasty, the inconsiderate, and the conceited reader. And so in common life you will observe that a man of excellent sense, who either from rustic bashfulness or want of skill and practice is unable to express his meaning clearly, will be soon set down by many as a fool, but it will be by those who have themselves

least modesty, least patience, and least good sense. Those who are docile enough to attend to him will form a very different opinion.

I have made these observations for the purpose of preparing you to expect some trouble in arranging the facts of the earlier history of the Christian Church, as it is to be gathered from the Acts of the Apostles and the Apostolical Epistles. In doing so, however, you will derive much assistance from the works of Neander and Dr. Burton, from Bishop Pearson's '*Annales Paulini*,' and from his, unfortunately unfinished, Latin Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles, from the '*Horæ Paulinæ*' of Paley—to which, if you please, you may add 'Benson's History of the first Planting of Christianity,' Hug's remarks on the Acts in his valuable Introduction to the New Testament, and a very carefully drawn up summary of most of the discussions of this matter in Kuinoel's Prolegomena to the Acts of the Apostles, § 7. This last, indeed, I would recommend you by all means to consult. It is brief, but it contains a vast mass of matter packed into a small compass.

In referring you, however, to all or to any of these books, you will not, I am sure, so far misunderstand me as to suppose that I mean to approve of them all as in the main perfectly orthodox, or even free from very dangerous errors. It is not the practice of Protestant Universities to treat their students, at least their more advanced students, as mere hothouse plants who are to be carefully guarded, at all risks, against the rude visitings of the least blast of heterodoxy. They look for safety not to the timid precaution of endeavouring to shut out all knowledge of such things, but to the careful training of the mind to endure and resist them. And, therefore, you will not, I trust, be much surprised or scandalised if in some of the works which I have commended to your perusal, you meet with exceedingly erroneous views upon some highly important subjects.

In saying this I have especially in my eye Neander's '*History of the Planting and Early Training of the Christian Church*,' and as it so happens that that author's most notice-

able error meets one at the very opening of his work, and at the event which I treat as the Epoch of the first period of Christian Ecclesiastical history, it seems natural in speaking of that wonderful event to consider it in connection with Neander's erroneous conception of it.

The event of which I speak is the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost upon the assembled disciples, the visible occupation by the Almighty of His new temple wherein God was in very deed to dwell with men and abide with them for ever. Now as it cannot be denied that the permanent presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church is of such a nature as ordinarily to confine itself to inward operations upon the moral faculties of the mind, Neander seems to have framed to himself a theory which excluded all other operations from the immediate working of the Spirit.

It is not that he doubted or denied the reality of spiritual agency, the existence of a real influence of the Divine Spirit, quite distinct from mere human will and feeling and intellect, but that he was perpetually haunted with a desire to get rid of all kinds of spiritual agency except that one which is normal and constant, the continual invisible working of the Holy Ghost upon the human mind, and to reduce every recorded effect of the Spirit's operation to this one law.

Now such a theory as this it is very difficult to apply consistently to the sacred records. And accordingly Neander is very far from being consistent. On the contrary, his method of dealing with the miracles related in the Acts of the Apostles exhibits a continual struggle between his prejudice in favour of his preconceived theory and his common-sense as an interpreter of the text, in which theory and fact are alternately called on to make such enormous sacrifices to one another as to preclude the possibility of any satisfactory compromise.

In the present instance he has raked together every plausible objection to the obvious and customary explanation of the narrative which his unwearied diligence, and great acuteness, and varied learning could possibly supply; and yet it is plain that he is neither satisfied with the weight of those

objections nor with the exposition of the text which he proposes to substitute for the common one. His exposition is that the gift of tongues consisted in such a highly raised state of contemplation of the new ideas of Christianity as naturally prompted the disciples to give utterance to their thoughts in new forms of expression and a new religious diction, unusual conceptions demanding unusual combinations of terms and phrases to convey them. I do not think it worth while to spend much time in considering how far it is possible to reconcile such a view with the words of the narrative in the Acts, because it seems to me obvious on a simple inspection that it is utterly irreconcilable with it. The narrative plainly makes the wonder consist in this, that the Apostles spoke in the native languages of several persons then present, not in a language familiar neither to themselves nor to anybody else. It will be much more profitable therefore to consider his objections to the ordinary interpretation, since, if we can answer these, not only his theory, which seeks to save the honour of the inspired text, but those also of the less piously-minded German critics, will be at once set aside.

1. His first objection is one which peculiarly interests us as students of Ecclesiastical history—that the common view of the gift of tongues was unknown or unsanctioned in the Church until the third century. This he endeavours to prove by the statements of Irenæus and Tertullian. The statement of Irenæus is simply this: ‘The Apostle calls those perfect who have received the Spirit of God, and speak in all languages as he did, and even as we ourselves have heard many brethren in the Church who had prophetic gifts, and who spake with all kinds of tongues by the Spirit, and who disclosed the secret thoughts of men when it was expedient, and explained the mysteries of God: such the Apostle calls spiritual, because they partook of the Spirit, not excluding or cutting off the flesh.’¹ Now what there is in this to exclude the common notion of the gift of tongues I cannot by any effort of my mind discover; nor can I after many trials piece

¹ *Adv. Hær.* v. 6.

together the remarks which Neander has made upon it into the shape of an intelligible argument. Irenæus is dealing with the Gnostics, and showing that the apostolic notions of perfection and spirituality were different from theirs; that according to the Apostles the body was not treated as something alien from the kingdom of God; that the title 'spiritual' did not refer to a man's own purely spiritual nature, but to his being the subject of the Holy Spirit's operations, and since it is manifest that the spiritual persons (*πνευματικοί*) of whom Paul speaks in the First Epistle to the Corinthians had such gifts as tongues and prophecy, and the word of wisdom, he instances these (naturally enough) as some of the respects in which that title was applied to them.

How then this is made an argument for Neander's view I feel some difficulty in guessing; but I feel greatly more difficulty in reconciling his treatment of Irenæus in this place with the opinion of his candour which I would fain entertain. For a man so well versed in Christian antiquity must certainly have read the great work of Irenæus through, and having a particular interest in everything in it bearing on the gift of tongues, he could hardly have failed to notice such a passage as that which occurs in lib. iii. c. 19, where Irenæus speaks of the Spirit as coming down at Pentecost upon the disciples with the power of opening an entrance for all nations to the way of life; whence, says he, 'They uttered concordantly in all languages a hymn to God, the Spirit reducing distant tribes to unity, and offering up the first-fruits of all nations to the Father.' I cannot, I say, understand how, with this passage before him, Neander should declare that Irenæus says nothing of what is commonly meant by the gift of tongues in the miracle of the great Pentecost. It is manifest, I think, from this place that Irenæus ascribed to that miracle just the same signality as by Neander's confession since the third century has been almost universally ascribed to it—the betokening of the universality of the Christian Church and the sanctification of all languages to the publication of the wonderful works of God.

As for Tertullian, there is nothing at all decisive in the citation from him.² But I am ready to own that I think it not at all improbable that he took much the same odd view of the gift of tongues as is now taken by the Irvingites, and for a similar reason. He sought to identify it with the phenomena produced by the enthusiasm of the Montanists with whom he was connected. Their prophets, when wrought up to a high pitch of excitement, uttered (as it is well known that nervously excited patients often will), unintelligible sounds more or less resembling the forms of a language. But the reveries of the Montanists have nothing to do with the current doctrines of the Church on this subject. On the contrary, the contemptuous manner in which the Church writers always speak of these Montanistic exhibitions is a strong proof, as indeed Neander himself allows, that they did not consider such utterances as at all akin to the apostolic gift.

Nor is there any weight in the objection drawn from the silence of the Apologists, who never appeal to the gift of tongues subsisting in the Church as a miracle capable of convincing unbelievers. For, in the first place, Irenæus is the latest author who testifies to its continuance in the Church, and he does not testify to its general continuance. He speaks of it as a thing which he had formerly witnessed, but he says nothing to imply that instances of it could at any time be produced for the satisfaction of gainsayers. I leave out of consideration here Tertullian; for his Montanistic gift of tongues, though probably common enough, was not of such a nature as to convince an unbeliever. It was rather such as a prudent Apologist would keep in the background when dealing with pagans. And, secondly, even if such a gift of tongues as we suppose was common in the Church in the second century, it was not such a gift as could be readily made a medium of proof; since all that could be shown imme-

² *Adv. Marc.* v. 8. 'Let him show some psalm, some vision, some prayer, if only spiritual, in ecstasy, that is raving, if any interpretation of a tongue has been added.'—EDITORS.

diately would be a man speaking several languages, but how he had acquired the faculty of so speaking would not be at once evident, and among strangers there would always be room for suspecting that he had acquired them by natural means. Healing the sick, or casting out demons, were miracles very differently circumstanced. In the case of these the whole process could be presented under one view, and the very miracle itself, in all its essential circumstances, brought palpably before the spectator. And accordingly, you know, it is to such a kind of experiment that the Christian Apologists do appeal. They invite the heathen to come and see the demons cast out in their presence. But to invite them to come and witness an exercise of the gift of tongues, even supposing it commonly to subsist in their time, would have been a very different thing, because there would be nothing in the mere circumstances of the thing witnessed itself to demonstrate its miraculous character. Whatever was needful for that purpose would have to be established by extraneous testimony. Besides which, we must remember that a man must be a linguist himself to be able to decide about even so much as the fact that diverse languages were spoken, whether miraculously or not, in the Church. And a knowledge of foreign languages was not at all a common accomplishment in ancient times.

On the whole then, I think we can see that so far the Primitive Church affords very small support to Neander's case against the obvious and usual explanation of this narrative. Let us consider what more he can allege on the same side.

Ancient tradition, he says, speaks of Mark as the interpreter of the Apostle Peter, which seems to imply that that Apostle was himself no master of the languages of people among whom he disseminated the gospel. But here again I feel somewhat at a loss to recognise this learned writer's usual candour. For he surely must have known that the Greek term *ἐρμηνεύς* or *ἐρμηνευτής* does not at all necessarily imply a person who translates from one language into another; *ἐρμηνεία* is the customary word used by the Greek grammarians

for diction or expression. And ἑρμηνευτής is applied, not only to an interpreter of language, but to an expressor of thought. Indeed when it is applied to Mark in reference to Peter, it is plainly in the sense of secretary or amanuensis. Μάρκος μὲν, says Papias,³ ἑρμηνευτής Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν. And the drift of the statement plainly is that Mark in his Gospel is to be considered only as expressing what was delivered to him by Peter. I suppose it is not doubted that Peter knew Greek, and if so, he certainly could not have needed an interpreter, in Neander's sense of the word, to put his meaning into such Greek as that of Mark's Gospel.

Next it is alleged that Paul was ignorant of the Lycaonian dialect; and this is said to be proved by Acts xiv. 11. But how the passage cited proves the thing for which it is adduced I cannot perceive. The Evangelist in that place merely takes notice that a certain remark was made in the speech of Lycaonia, and from his giving the translation of what was said in Lycaonian, I should rather be tempted to draw the conclusion that it was understood by the Apostle, since it seems most probable that Luke derived his information about Paul's adventures from Paul himself. This notice, however, of the Lycaonian dialect is of some importance as showing us how little value really attaches to another objection of Neander's. 'The utility,' says he, 'of such a gift of tongues as is commonly supposed for the spread of divine truth in apostolic times will appear not so great, if we consider that the gospel had its first and chief sphere of action among the nations belonging to the Roman Empire, where the knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages sufficed for this purpose, and that the one or the other of these languages, as it was employed in the intercourse of daily life, could not be altogether strange to the Jews.'

Now not to mention that we really do not know how far beyond the limits of the Roman Empire the gospel penetrated in the apostolic times, while there is every reason to believe

³ Apud Euseb., *Ecc. Hist.* iii. 39.

that to some extent it did so penetrate, the very instance of the Lycaonians shows us what a number of obscure dialects were embraced within those limits, where casting only a superficial glance over history we might have thought Greek and Latin were the only languages spoken. Greek perhaps might be as generally spoken through Asia Minor as English was some time ago through Connaught, that is it was the language of the better classes, the language of polite conversation, the language of reading and writing. But so late as the time of Mithridates we know that some hundred different languages were spoken through his dominions alone, and there is no reason to suppose that these had become extinct in the Apostles' times. In preaching, therefore, the gospel to the poor through such a region as this, a gift of diverse tongues may have been of the greatest value to the first propagators of the Christian religion; and from the example of this region we may learn to think it likely that elsewhere also, on the confines of Syria, in the upper parts of Egypt, along the shores of North Africa, through Thrace and Illyricum and Gaul, the first heralds of the gospel in apostolic times found abundant room for exercising their divinely infused knowledge.

But there is the less necessity for dwelling upon this subject as Neander himself acknowledges that, apart from any such purpose, the signality of the gift of tongues as attesting the universal aim of a religion designed for all people, would be of itself sufficient to make it credible that such a gift was bestowed. In truth, as Irenæus long since observed,⁴ by such a miracle as this the very type of the Church Catholic was placed visibly before men's eyes, as a multitude collected together out of all nations and kindreds and peoples and tongues, and the Spirit thus made it manifest that in thus taking possession of His temple He was occupying a residence which was co-extensive with all the families of the earth. And this purpose will appear the more considerable if we reflect upon the Jewish prejudice which regarded Hebrew as the only clean language—the sole privileged

⁴ *Adv. Hæc.* iii: 19; cf. i. 3.

medium of divine communication with mankind. Considered in reference to such prejudice the gift of tongues was a protest against that exclusiveness of which the Hebrew language had become, as it were, the symbol. It was a token that the new religion was to accommodate itself to the diversities of mankind, and go out and dwell with its various tribes, instead of requiring them to abolish those diversities and conform to one single model.

Viewed in this light there is a peculiar propriety in the gift of tongues having been made the sign not only of the indwelling of the Spirit in the Apostles, but of the reception also of the first-fruits of the Gentiles in the case of Cornelius and his family; nor do I see that in this latter case there is anything of unnatural or affected display in the behaviour of persons, who, becoming suddenly conscious of a new power, immediately proceed to exercise it. I believe it would be the first impulse of every mind: just as the lame man, who never had walked, when gifted with the requisite strength and agility, stood and walked and leaped, praising God for the new power conferred upon him. Anyone, I believe, on whom a new faculty was conferred would naturally be prompted at once to put its reality and extent to the test of experience—not to mention that when miraculously conferred under such circumstances as attended the case of Cornelius, everyone would understand that it was meant to be a sign not only to himself but to others also—and from that motive, if from no other, would make what Neander is pleased to call a display of it. In the other case to which Neander refers, that in Acts xix., there is no semblance even of difficulty in explaining the phenomena: for there it is expressly said that the gifted persons spake with tongues and prophesied, meaning no doubt that they were not only gifted with the new faculty, but directly impelled to use it fluently in devout addresses. For to prophesy—as Neander himself, I think, correctly states—is, in the language of the New Testament, to speak under the influence of a divine impulse, whatever be the matter suggested, whether a

description of some future event, an impassioned appeal to human auditors, or a prayer or hymn to the Most High.

Some spiritual gift, it would appear, was generally, and as a matter of course, conferred upon those who had been baptized, through the imposition of the Apostles' hands, at once as a recognition of their discipleship and as a confirmation of their faith. The instances which have been alleged, and the references in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, lead, I think, to the conclusion that the gift of tongues was one of the most common of the confirming gifts thus bestowed. This may strike us at first sight as rather surprising; but upon reflection it will appear that hardly any of the gifts was more suitable for this general purpose, since hardly any other of them could have been profusely bestowed without interfering considerably with the ordinary method of God's providential government. An immense multitude of healers of the sick, or of workers of miracles in the ordinary sense of the word, would plainly have amounted to a general suspension of the ordinary laws of nature, and if those gifts, the word of wisdom and the word of knowledge, had been indiscriminately given to a very large number, besides that such gifts would not have answered the purpose of a miraculous sign, this would have involved a departure from what we know to have been the plan of the Church, according to which the great body of the faithful were much dependent upon the ordinary instruction of their pastors for the attainment of religious knowledge. Such gifts as these were given to the few for the purpose of instructing the many, and if they had been given indiscriminately to the many, this would have been changing the character of the dispensation; such gifts would have been no longer given as the qualifications of teachers, but for the purpose of removing all distinction between teachers and learners; that is, in fact, of reversing on a large scale the ordinary law which regulates man's progress, and according to which that which can be attained by the natural exercise of the understanding is left to be so attained.

LECTURE V.

*EARLIEST RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH TO
JUDAISM, AND ITS FIRST CONSTITUTION.*

GENTLEMEN,—I entered, in my last lecture, at considerable length into an examination of the miraculous circumstances which attended the first founding of the Christian Church. I should not have felt myself called upon to spend so much time upon that subject, in a course of lectures in which, from the extent and variety of the matter to be handled, economy of time is most important, if it were not that an opportunity was thus afforded me at the very outset, of pointing out and guarding against one of the most considerable and pervading errors of a work which I had recommended to your perusal.

I pass on now to consider the state of the newly founded Christian Church in Judæa during the interval which elapsed between the great Pentecost and the calling in of the Gentiles. The first thing which must, I think, strike everyone in considering the picture, or rather the outline of this state, brought before us in the Acts of the Apostles, is the indistinctness of the separation between the Church and the great body of the Jewish commonwealth. At first there are only the rudiments of an ecclesiastical organisation in the Christian society, which are only developed into more definite shape and minuteness as circumstances arise to require that development. It seems manifest that during this interval the Apostles did not deem themselves justified in taking any steps derogatory to the institutions of the Jewish law. Those institutions, originally appointed by the voice of God Himself, as yet stood around

them visibly intact, and retained still not only the outward form which they had always worn, but the sacred character also with which they had been hitherto invested. At first sight, and to a superficial observer, it might seem that the Christian community was little more than a sect or school in Judaism, scarcely more definitely distinguished from the mass of Israelites than the Essenes or the Herodians. The temple was still to the Christian, as it was to the unchristian Jew, the house of prayer, and his attendance in its courts was punctual and exemplary. The public and the private rites of the Mosaic law were still observed with scrupulous exactness; and not only was this the case, but it is curious to observe further that the peculiarities which distinguished the various schools of Judaism from one another seem to some extent to have prolonged themselves into the Christian body, Christianity running through them as it were a cross-division. Thus we read in the Acts of 'believing Pharisees,' evidently distinguished from other believing Israelites, and who along with faith in the Messiahship of Jesus retained not only the observance of the law as it was really delivered by Moses, but even as it was expounded and augmented by the peculiar traditions of the rabbis of their own school.

At first sight then, and to a superficial observer, it might, as I said, appear as if the Christians were rather a new sect, or *αἵρεσις* embraced within the Jewish Church, than themselves the great exclusive corporation of the Church of God, the sole inheritor of all the privileges which up to that time had belonged to the whole seed of Israel after the flesh.

But, even in this the earliest and weakest stage of the Church's development, a more searching eye would have discovered an essential difference between Christianity and the previous sects of Judaism.

In the first place, the question between the believing and unbelieving Jews was not a mere question as to the authority of this or that teacher, or even this or that prophet, but a question of allegiance to the anointed king of the theocracy. Those who acknowledged the claims of Jesus of

Nazareth acknowledged Him, or at least were distinctly called on by the Apostles to acknowledge Him, as a 'Prince and a Saviour,' as 'the Lord exalted at God's right hand,' as 'the prophet like unto Moses, whose rejectors should be cut off from the people,' as one expected to return and effect that great change of which the prophets had spoken as the restoration of all things, as one who should make all enemies his footstool, and from whose impending wrath men could only be delivered by publicly acknowledging Him as their sovereign.

It is manifest, therefore, that with such a message, however mildly they might put it forward, the Apostles were in fact declaring that the Christian community alone was thenceforward the Israel of God, and that the whole 'untoward generation' who rejected the Lord's Christ were by that very act cut off from being any more His people.

But, in the second place, the teaching of the Apostles went, even from the first, farther even than this. I think it is clear that from the time of the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost the Apostles perceived that Christianity was a distinct thing from the law of Moses, and that the institutions of that law, however still obligatory, were not obligatory as any parts of the Christian covenant. Peter, I think, distinctly from the first—almost as distinctly and precisely as Paul afterwards—excludes the 'works of the law' from a place as conditions of justification. He teaches his hearers to regard Jesus as the bestower of a new spiritual life and a remission of sins which had never been and never could be bestowed by the law, and to regard as the sole conditions for the obtaining this new and special gift, repentance and the inward and outward acknowledgment of the divine authority of the bestower. What the Apostles at this time did not see clearly was the divine intention of offering this grace to any but the previous subjects of the theocracy; or rather, to speak more correctly, they did not see that the time had come for putting such an intention into execution; they were waiting for some express intimation of the divine will authorising such a step, not, I

think, without expectation that it would be given. How else can we explain, without putting an unnatural strain upon the words, the language of Peter in his very first sermon, when he tells his fellow-countrymen that the promise is to them and to their children, and to all 'that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call'? or how else shall we give its full significance to his language in another very early discourse, in which, after speaking of the promise to Abraham as that of a blessing to all the kindreds of the earth, he adds: 'to you *first*, God, having raised up His Son Jesus, sent Him to bless you in turning away every one of you from his iniquities'?

The question then with the Apostles, I conceive, was not at all whether the Mosaic law was properly speaking any condition of Christian life. For upon this subject they seem to have been quite clearly determined that it was not, and that the sole condition of such life was repentance and faith in Christ; but the question was, whether any but the previous subjects of the theocracy were at that time capable of having this life offered to and received by them. No man would say that attaining a certain stage of civilisation was, properly speaking, a condition of justification, yet many have doubted whether mere savages are capable of that faith in Christianity which is the true condition of justification. And with this view the language of the brethren who came with Peter to Cornelius, when they saw the Holy Ghost imparted to the Centurion and his family, appears to me remarkably to harmonise. 'Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life.' They had no doubt that repentance unto life was the substance of Christianity, and that the blessing of the gospel covenant was a peculiar thing, and different from anything contained in the Mosaic covenant; but what they are surprised at is that this peculiar blessing should have been bestowed upon any who had not previously been cleansed according to the Jewish ritual. They regarded the Mosaic law, in short, not as a part of Christianity, but as still a necessary *παιδαγωγὸς* or preparative to the reception of Christianity.

And doubtless what lay at the bottom of this mistake was the fact that they did not see clearly, what Paul's mind so firmly grasped, the great truth that from the very nature of the Jewish law, its religious obligation necessarily ceased upon the promulgation of Christianity. And accordingly you will observe that it was to the removal of this fundamental error that the vision which prepared Peter for the baptism of Cornelius was addressed. The Apostle is prepared to receive a Gentile into the Church by being informed that upon himself, though a Jew, the distinction between clean and unclean meats is no longer obligatory. 'What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common.' Yet, even after this great revelation, it does not appear that Peter's mind was fully prepared for the immediate extension of the principle to all its consequences—to such consequences as were fully developed in Paul's ministry—the call of the idolatrous Gentiles, and the gospel's becoming of itself and immediately the means of 'turning men from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God.' He does not at first appear to have carried it farther himself than to perceive that the particular class of Gentiles—call them what you will—proselytes of the gate, devout men, pious men, that particular class of Gentiles who revered the God of Israel and practised the requirements of the Mosaic law, were capable of citizenship in the kingdom of heaven. 'Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but that, in every nation, he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him.' And it was plainly, I think, of this class, and of this alone, including under this notion the Samaritans, that the Gentile Christians were composed until the memorable turning of Paul to the heathen.

Upon the whole then, I think it must be plain to any candid examiner that though there was much imperfection in the views of the Apostles at first, yet it was the result not so much of any positive error, as of a failing to perceive all the just consequences of a correct principle, already correctly

apprehended, that the gospel was from the first conceived of as a blessing quite distinct from and superior to anything which came through the law,—and that the teaching of the early founders of the Church in Jerusalem was essentially distinguished from that Ebionite system which regarded Christianity as little more than a purification of Judaism, a clear exposition of the law, and an accomplishing of its proper work.

The charge against Stephen, we know, was that he had spoken blasphemous things against the Holy Place and against God, and the charge was supported by the allegation of his having taught that Jesus of Nazareth should destroy this place and change the customs which Moses had delivered.

Now it is true that the witnesses upon this occasion are expressly called 'false witnesses'; but I agree with Neander, and indeed I believe with most commentators, in referring this rather to the malicious turn given to his words, as if spoken in contempt of the Mosaic institution, than to the mere matter of the allegation. Nor can I easily explain the drift of Stephen's own speech (a defence we must remember interrupted by the clamour of his judges, and of which we have as it were only the premises without the conclusion), without supposing that he was preparing to show that a great change of dispensation did not necessarily involve any disrespect to institutions which would be removed by such a change. I cannot, I say, understand the drift of the long historical detail with which he commences otherwise than as intended to show that these institutions had been themselves originally changes from a former state of things, changes as unexpected and as distasteful as any which he was charged with predicting.

If this be so, then I desire you further to consider that it was with predicting such changes that Stephen was charged. The alteration of the Mosaic institutions is coupled with the destruction of the Holy Place, and both are spoken of as future.

Now this I say suggests a view of the relations of Judaism

to Christianity which Stephen may have held, and in which he may not have been so singularly distinguished as some have imagined. The Apostles may have contemplated a change of the institutions of Judaism, but they may have contemplated it as a thing coming, not as having actually arrived. They may have supposed that institutions divinely ordained needed a more distinct and signal divine abrogation than they had yet received. They may have expected that a theocratic constitution visibly set up should be visibly taken down, and thought that while its outward form still remained its obligation still continued.

Men holding such a view as this would regard themselves as living for the time under two divine economies, distinct in their nature—the one imperfect and incapable of giving life, and destined shortly to be withdrawn, the other perfect, life-giving, and permanent. The incorporation of the Jewish State, as worshippers of the one God according to the rites of Moses, they would regard as still continuing until the sovereign of the theocracy visibly interposed to annul that incorporation; and accordingly as citizens of that commonwealth they would feel themselves under a strict obligation to adhere to all its institutions, but not as members of the Christian Church. That Church would be, in their eyes, a different corporation, established for higher purposes, and capable of a much wider and freer expansion.

Thus, as I said, from the very first, the Church would wear a very different aspect from that of a mere sect or school of Judaism. And though there were at the commencement little more than the rudiments of such an organisation as would suit its further development, yet the rudiments of such an organisation there were. There was the germ as well as the principle of life.

Nor would it be reasonable to expect more. The New Testament, as far as I can understand it, leads us to regard church government not as a thing of which the model, perfectly defined, was first delivered, and then the Church built up according to that model, but rather as a set of institutions

growing out of the necessities of a society, according as they occurred, in the course of circumstances. Bishop Horsley, indeed, has an hypothesis (which like many other of his hypotheses rests upon a very frail foundation), that, in the forty days immediately succeeding his resurrection, our Lord was engaged in delivering the rules of church government to his Apostles. I do not well know what can be said in favour of such a notion more than this, that, if our Lord did not then deliver such rules, it is not likely that He ever delivered them. But, as I do not think it likely that He ever delivered them, the argument has but little weight with me, especially as, while I see nothing in favour of such an idea, I see not a little against it.

If Christ, for example, had been thus employed, can we doubt but that the filling up of the traitor's place in the College of Apostles would have been one of the first things mentioned, or that He Himself would have been applied to then to appoint a successor, or that He would have appointed one, or that even if He had declined, He would yet have directed His disciples how to proceed, and that, if so, Peter would, when moving the matter to the rest, have referred to their Master's own express injunctions?

But leaving conjectures and hypotheses to shift for themselves, let us confine our attention to known facts. They are few indeed, and the information they afford is meagre enough. But then we may be secure in relying upon that information. Now if we consider the circumstances of the primitive body of believers in Jerusalem, we shall see that they yield us light enough to settle, with some degree of probability, some highly important questions which have been raised by inquirers into Ecclesiastical history. The first thing then that strikes us in this new community is the largeness of the number of persons who were suddenly attached to it. 'Then they that gladly received his word,' says the historian, after relating Peter's first sermon, 'were baptized, and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls.' At a later period you will remember that James speaks of

'myriads' of Jews professing the faith of Christ. Now there is no Christian community more distinctly spoken of in the New Testament under the idea of one church than the Christian community in Jerusalem. And combining this circumstance last mentioned with the account of their numbers to which I have just now referred, we may be led to see clearly what did, and what did not, constitute the idea of a single church in the minds of the apostolic writers.

It has been supposed, you know, by some, and by some very diligent and acute inquirers into antiquity, that the primitive idea of a single church was that of a single congregation, meeting at one time and in one place for the exercise of united worship. Now I think that it is impossible to attach this idea to the very first community of Christians that was ever gathered into a church. The theory fails in its very first application to facts.

It is utterly impossible to believe that so vast a number as were the first body of the disciples, such a number as even three thousand souls, should have found it convenient, or even safe, to meet all together in one place, every first day of the week, for the exercise of united Christian worship. Nor is there the slightest intimation that they did so. It is said indeed that they continued in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in the breaking of bread and in prayer. But it is not implied by that, that this breaking of bread and prayer took place upon one spot, and in an assembly of the whole body at once. On the contrary, we are expressly told, a little after, that they broke bread in their several houses; so that the idea which would be really presented to us, would be rather that of a number of small private and almost family assemblies, in which the Eucharist was not, as in after times, precisely separated from the Agape or friendly meal, designed literally for the refreshment of the body as well as for the cultivation of fraternal feelings, and of which this memorial of their Master formed, as at its first institution, the conclusion; I say the idea of Christian fellowship would rather be this than that of a single assembly collected at stated intervals

in one place, for the regular performance of united acts of worship.

The sort of meetings indicated would be rather such as we find spoken of afterwards in chap. xii. 12, where we are told that many were collected in the house of Mark's mother, engaged in prayer. The unity or fellowship, then, between the whole body did not consist in their forming literally a single congregation, but, as it appears to me, in their forming a single community, that is, in the closeness of their mutual intercourse, in their common dependence upon the same teachers, in their close sense of a common interest, and in their taking measures by their common consent for the spiritual and temporal well-being of each other.

It does, I think, enter into the Scriptural idea of a single church, that the relationship between the members should be so close as to give them this sort of unity; to make them one society of members very intimately connected, so as to be able easily to take measures in concert for the maintenance of their common interests. Now how large or how small such a body should be in order to conserve this idea—how closely concentrated or how widely diffused—these are plainly things which must depend upon circumstances, and will vary with circumstances; and therefore I think that it is idle to look for any exact measure of them. Where circumstances facilitate, still more where they seem even to require, a very close connection of a great number of persons, over a considerable space, there I can see no reason from Scriptural precedent for denying the possibility of such persons composing a single church. And where, on the other hand, outward circumstances of any kind make it difficult for even neighbours in position to maintain that close connection which seems necessary to constitute them one community, there I think such circumstances seem to require that they should form themselves into separate churches.

But much confusion of ideas in this case has arisen, as it appears to me, from the ambiguity of the word *ἐκκλησία*, which is sometimes taken in a wider, and sometimes in a

stricter sense. Sometimes it denotes a meeting of persons actually assembled, and sometimes a number of persons who might and did at times assemble together for a common purpose. In this latter sense you know it is applied in the Septuagint very frequently to the assembly or congregation of Israel; and in this sense I think it is applied to the body of believers in Jerusalem, and in other large cities—not meaning that the whole multitude actually met together every Lord's day for the common celebration of the rites of religion in one place, but that they formed such a community as regulated their own affairs by the general concert of all the members, who, when it was necessary, were invited to deliberate together. I agree with Mosheim, however, in thinking it not likely that, in point of fact, the whole body of male adult members often, or perhaps ever, actually assembled together, where the numbers were very great, upon such occasions. Perhaps, as he conjectures, there may have been some rough system of representation. But if so, it must be confessed that there remain in history no traces of such a system. And perhaps there is no necessity for recurring to such a supposition at all. A very slight practical experience of public meetings will suffice to show us that where the number of persons having a right to attend them is very large, the same inconveniences do not follow as we might at first be led to anticipate. A considerable proportion of those who have a right to attend do not attend. There is a practical, though not a formal, delegation of the interests of the community to those who have most zeal and are supposed to have most ability for conducting the matter in hand; and the whole body are not unreasonably treated as coinciding in the decisions of an assembly consisting perhaps actually of a small portion of it, because that assembly is, in the nature of it, an open assembly, where anyone may, if he choose, come in and object to the decisions. Everyone knows that in general meetings of the citizens of a town, or even the members of a single parish, the difficulty is rather to get together a sufficient number than to prevent too large an assembly; and even

where great interest is felt very generally in the objects of such a meeting, the known capacity of the place where it is to be held, the known limits to the powers of the human voice, operate as checks to prevent too great a gathering. (Athens.¹)

Another consideration is that it is not necessary to be supposed that upon these occasions everything was decided on in one assembly. The first meeting, though not composed of the whole body, would afford an opportunity of publication, would make the matter generally known to all interested in it, and thus, by talking over it among themselves, the whole body might quietly have an opportunity of forming their opinions upon it, and letting those opinions be understood by each other and by their elders. I am inclined, therefore, on the whole, to think that in large towns the little 'church' (ecclesia) had reference rather to a virtual than to an actual assembly of all the members.

¹ This mention of Athens was evidently intended to remind the Lecturer to illustrate what he had been saying by the example of the Athenian Assembly. It was found necessary, in order to secure a good attendance, to make a small payment to those who came, and to impose a fine upon absentees. It was customary also to sweep the Agora with a rope, in order to gather in those who might not escape by running away. (See Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.* s. v. 'Ecclesia,' p. 441).—EDITORS.

LECTURE VI.

APOSTOLIC COMMUNICATION OF SUPERNATURAL GIFTS—THE SAMARITANS AND SIMON MAGUS.

GENTLEMEN,—The subject with which we were occupied in the last lecture naturally conducts us to consider that great development of the Church which took place by the calling in of the Gentiles. But before taking up that important topic, there is an intermediate stage of the progress of the gospel which requires to be briefly noticed—I mean the conversion of the Samaritans. When we reflect upon the bitter hostility with which the Jews regarded these—their nonconformist neighbours—we may be at first a little surprised to observe the readiness with which the church at Jerusalem agreed to receive the Samaritans into the Christian fraternity. Jewish prejudice was in some respects much stronger against the Samaritans than against the Gentiles; from that well-known tendency of human nature which gave occasion to the old Greek proverb, ‘that cruel are the wars of brothers.’

But we must remember that a special preparation had been made for the case of the Samaritans during the period of our Lord’s own personal ministry. The Apostles could not but remember how freely their Master had conversed with this despised people, and how readily the Samaritans had received and owned Him at a time when the more orthodox part of Israel rejected him, generally with disdain; they could not but remember the parable in which he had expressly taught them to extend the friendly rights of neighbourhood to these, schismatics as they were; nor could they have forgotten the rebuke with which He checked the impetuous zeal

of James and John, when they proposed to call down fire from heaven to punish the heretical obstinacy of men who would lend no aid to pilgrims hastening to Jerusalem.

Indeed, it is instructive to remark that it was one of these very 'sons of thunder' who, upon the present occasion, was deputed along with Peter to confirm the Samaritan converts. It was now John's office to call down upon the Samaritans a very different fire from that which he had before wished to invoke upon their heads.

And if we lay out of consideration those irrational prejudices against the mere race of the Samaritans which our Lord Himself had taken so much pains to extirpate from the disciples' minds, we shall find that there could remain but little more in the way of obstacle to their reception into communion with the Church. The question of circumcision could not here have place, as the Samaritans were already circumcised. Epiphanius indeed has a story, not easily intelligible, about the Jews insisting upon a second circumcision in the case of Samaritan proselytes.¹ But this rule, if indeed there ever was such a rule, had reference, I suppose, to later times than those which we are now considering. It is conceivable that, after the Jewish war, the Samaritans, who were always too apt to comply with heathen prejudices, and who identified themselves with, or separated themselves from, the Jews very much as circumstances rendered it expedient, may have performed this rite in so slight a manner as to make it possible to efface the vestiges of it. Indeed we know that even in the case of Jews themselves this was sometimes possible; because we know from the express testimony of the Book of Maccabees, from Josephus, from the rabbis, and from the casual reference in Paul's Epistles, that it was not unfrequently attempted, and with success. But, from this very circumstance, we may conclude that the severe precautions against it which now form part of the Jewish ritual had a later origin than the apostolic times; and that, in those times, even a Pharisee would have, without hesitation, recognised the Samaritan circumcision as sufficient.

¹ *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, xvi.

Then as to the essential points of difference between the Jews and the Samaritans, the very circumstance of conversion to the Christian faith, especially by Jewish teachers, and above all the recognition of the Apostles, who were all Jews, as the accredited expounders of true religion, would amount in themselves to an absolute surrender of heterodoxy on the part of the Samaritans. It would seem as if Christianity, instead of recognising a schism by admitting the Samaritans within its pale, was in reality healing one, and accomplishing the prophetic intimation that 'the envy of Ephraim should depart, that Ephraim should no longer envy Judah, and Judah should no longer vex Ephraim.'

Still, however, doubtless the reception of the Samaritans, the extension of the Christian Church into a region which lay so completely out of the pale of orthodox Judaism, was a remarkable breaking down of old barriers, and a preparation for that free recognition of universal brotherhood which the Church was soon to adopt in all its liberality.

But before quitting this part of the subject, there are two circumstances connected with the narrative of the conversion of the Samaritans on which I must say a few words; because though not bearing directly on our present immediate object of tracing the development of the Church into a universal society, they touch very closely upon some other important topics which will meet us hereafter, and claim a fuller consideration. One is the imparting of the Holy Ghost by the imposition of the Apostles' hands, the other is the character of Simon Magus.

In the mission of the two Apostles, Peter and John, to impart the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit to the already baptized converts, divines have generally agreed to recognise indications of a law which ordinarily limited the transmission of such wonderful endowments to the Apostles as the only channels through whom they could be communicated. It is, indeed, I think, not a little remarkable that, notwithstanding the way in which our Lord Himself couples together water and the Holy Spirit, notwithstanding the complete efficacy attributed so often in Scripture to the rite of bap-

tism as giving the recipients a full title to all the privileges of church membership, the external manifestation of the presence of the Holy Spirit by miraculous powers is never made in or through baptism alone. The Holy Ghost, in this sense, is sometimes given before, and generally after baptism, never in baptism; and where its bestowal is connected with any outward rite at all, it is with the imposition of hands.

This appears to me to look like a special arrangement for distinguishing the two ideas of the miraculous gifts, and of the sanctifying influence, of the Holy Ghost, and facilitating the ultimate withdrawing of the former without shaking the Church's faith in the abiding presence of the latter. Had the bestowal of the miraculous gifts been immediately connected with the rite of baptism, it seems to me that very great inconveniences would have been the result. They would, I think, in such a case as I have just hinted, have been indissolubly associated in men's minds with that sanctifying presence of the same Divine Agent, of which baptism is the sacrament; they would have been deemed the outward tokens, the symptoms as it were, of regeneration. And this would have tended to foster a perilous error while they continued to be given, and to suggest a still more perilous one when they were withdrawn. While they continued to be given in baptism, it could hardly be avoided that men should either regard them as a guarantee that all who received the outward and visible sign were partakers of the sanctifying inward grace, or that the sanctifying grace should be wholly lost sight of in its showy external token, and gifts themselves should thus come practically to be regarded as the grace of baptism. And, with such a view taken of them during their continuance, what could have been the effect of their withdrawal but to create a general impression that the Holy Spirit had entirely withdrawn from the Church? If once intimately associated in men's minds with a rite of universal necessity and permanent obligation, with a sacrament properly so-called, I think this must have been the inevitable consequence of their withdrawal, whether regarded as the

symptoms of regeneration or as regeneration itself. This marked separation, then, of the visible from the invisible gifts of the Spirit, this attaching of the former to one rite, and the latter to another, was an important safeguard against a dangerous error in the apostolic time, and against perhaps a still more dangerous one in the age immediately succeeding. The disconnection of the miraculous powers from baptism was, as it seems to me, even by itself, a manifest preparation for their withdrawal.

But this preparation was made more complete and signal by the additional circumstance that the performance of the separate rite by which the miraculous gifts were bestowed was made the exclusive privilege of the Apostles. By this means, not only was the bestowal of the gifts more clearly distinguished from the ordinary and perpetual rites of the Church by being vested in a small order of men, who could not be always and everywhere at hand, but the provision for its withdrawal was brought more plainly under the notice of Christians. The vocation of the Apostles must have been seen from the first to have been peculiar, and not intended to be perpetuated in the full plenitude of its privileges, for it clearly entered into the idea of qualification for the apostolic office, that the person bearing it should be an actual witness of the resurrection, that he should have personally seen the Lord after His resurrection from the dead. 'Wherefore,' says Peter, 'of these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John unto that same day when He was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of His resurrection.' 'Am not I also an Apostle,' says Paul; 'have not I seen Jesus Christ?' 'Last of all He was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time.' Laying these and many other similar passages together, we perceive clearly that it was indispensable for an Apostle that he should have seen Christ after His resurrection, that in every other case but Paul's the Apostles had the further qualification of having been our Lord's intimate personal

companions while He was on earth, and that the dispensing with this latter condition in Paul's case was regarded as something extraordinary and singular—a privilege and not a precedent—and from these premises it is not difficult to infer that the College of Apostles was not intended to be perpetuated by a continual succession. In confining, then, the regular bestowal of the miraculous gifts to this small number of persons, marked with so peculiar a character, an indication was, as I have said, given from the first of the temporary nature of such endowments in the Church. As other inferior Evangelists pushed on the publication of the gospel in advance of the Apostles, churches would be formed even in their lifetime in possession of all the ordinary means of grace, though for a long time, as appears to have been the case with the church of Rome, destitute of the miraculous gifts, because long unvisited by an Apostle; and as, one by one, the Apostles retired from the scene, and left no successors in the plenitude of their office, the channels which fed the stream of miraculous power would be visibly stopped, and the means of perpetuating the supply withdrawn.

Let me add to the foregoing observations that the circumstance upon which I have been dwelling is one out of a vast number of little traits of genuineness, slight perhaps in themselves, taken separately, but surely not slight in their united mass, which a careful scrutiny will discover in the sacred narrative, and which form a strong argument against the mythic origin of that narrative. A mythic fancy working upon our Lord's command to baptize all nations, and the accompanying promise that miraculous signs should attend as symptoms (for the word *παρακολουθήσει* seems in such a connection almost a technical term of medicine)—should attend as symptoms those who believed and were baptized, would never have been naturally led to work out such a representation of the phenomena which fulfilled it as we find in the Acts and the Apostolic Epistles. A mythic fancy, working upon the data that baptism made men members of the Church, that the Church was the temple of

the Holy Ghost, and that His presence revealed itself in outward miraculous signs, would never have been naturally led to associate these signs with a distinct rite from baptism, but, on the contrary, would naturally have associated them with baptism, and represented them as the regular attendants upon church membership. To account for a departure from this, the natural development of the myth, it may indeed be supposed that some such view as that which I have been laying before you modified its natural development, that the framer of it felt that the withdrawal of the gifts was a difficulty to be explained, and therefore shaped his history so as to prepare for it. But had this been the case it is difficult to believe that some consciousness of such a difficulty would not have betrayed itself, and it is incredible that no connection should have been marked between the difficulty and the explanation, or that no traces should remain to betray the fact that the writer or the inventor lived at a time when such miraculous phenomena were no longer existing, or at least claimed as existing, in the Church. The withdrawal of the miraculous gifts, you will remember, is a circumstance not once even hinted at in the Acts, it is a fact which we gather from quite different sources, while the other fact, now under consideration, and which so exactly tallies with it, is brought out quite independently in the natural course of a plain narrative, and in a manner which betrays not the least suspicion of its having this, or indeed any bearing, upon the after-history of the Church. Nor is the limitation of the bestowal of the gifts to the Apostles ever expressly asserted, or pressed in any way on the reader's notice. It is merely collected from scattered incidents, alluded to as a thing already known, presupposed, and implied, not related. All this is manifestly inconsistent with the supposition of its having been imagined for the purpose of accounting for such a difficulty, while, on the other hand, it is just what might be expected in a true narrative of real occurrences, written at a time when no such difficulty was felt, because the circumstances which were likely to create it had not yet arisen.

Let me add, still further, that the arrangement now under consideration seems to me to tell with still greater force against the Rationalists than against the Mythics. If the so-called miraculous gifts were nothing more than the natural results of a certain highly raised state of religious enthusiasm, the vehement gestures and strange utterances which attend a state of mental excitement, or such phenomena, whatever they are, as Neander so obscurely intimates as the results of the new feelings of a Christian, how are we to explain the fact that nothing of this kind appeared, in even one single instance, among the Samaritan converts after their baptism by Philip until the visit of the two Apostles, and that such phenomena did immediately appear when the Apostles laid their hands upon them? One cannot but pity the manifest perplexity and distress of Neander upon this occasion, and wonder at the desperate expedients which he is content to resort to rather than abandon an absurd and indeed scarce intelligible theory. The facts are against him; but 'so much the worse for the facts,' and finding them obstinate in their refusal to surrender, he cuts them down without mercy, and substitutes in their place a little romance of his own, which as far as I can see has no one merit to recommend it. It is neither probable, nor ingenious, nor amusing. Neander, i., pp. 70, 71.¹

¹ This passage was probably read at the lecture. A few sentences from it will suffice. 'As the ancient prejudice against the despised Samaritans had not quite worn away, and no account had been received that, among the baptized believers, those wonderful works were manifested which since the day of Pentecost were considered as necessary concomitants of a reception into the Christian communion, the Apostles Peter and John were sent thither to investigate what had transpired, and, by virtue of their apostolic calling, to complete whatever might be wanting for the establishment of a Christian community. We find in the narrative of the Acts no reason to impute the want of those operations of the Divine Spirit among the Samaritans in any degree to Philip's being only a deacon, as if he could not found a Christian society, and by preaching the gospel, and by prayer in the name of Christ, produce effects similar to those wrought by the Apostles. . . . The effects to which we refer proceeded from the power of a living consciousness of redemption obtained, and at the commencement of the new spiritual creation were a mark of vital Christianity. . . . But among these Samaritans, the feeling of their religious and moral necessities, which living faith in the Redeemer presupposes and

Really I should find it more easy to digest some of the legends in the Breviary, than to believe that this was the meaning, or anything like the meaning, of Luke's narrative.

Quodcumque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.

To suppose that a man of Simon Magus's temper would have offered hard cash to the Apostles in order to purchase the power of working such effects as Neander thinks the spiritual gifts to have been, is to suppose something vastly improbable; but at any rate one thing seems plain in the matter, namely, that the magician imagined the gifts to be properly the result of the imposition of the Apostles' hands, that the Apostles really conferred them, and that they had the exclusive power of conferring them. And to such a proposal the answer of Peter is pertinent, clear, and precise—'Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money!' He does not, you perceive, correct Simon's view of the nature of the power, but only repudiates with indignation the thought of its being purchasable.

unites with, was not yet awakened in consequence of their being drawn aside and disturbed by the influence of Simon. . . . They had not yet attained to the consciousness of a vital communion with the Christ whom Philip preached, nor yet to the consciousness of a personal divine life. . . . We have not a full account in the Acts of what was done by Peter and John, but simply the general results. No doubt those Apostles carried on the work of Philip by preaching and prayer . . . employing the usual sign of Christian consecration by imposition of hands. Manifestations now followed similar to those on the day of Pentecost. But Simon was naturally incapable of understanding the spiritual connection of those manifestations. . . . Hence he imagined that the Apostles might communicate these magical powers to him also, by virtue of which all those on whom he laid hands would become filled with divine power, and with this view offered them money. . . . Peter's terrible rebuke presents him to us as a faithful preacher of the gospel, insisting most impressively on the supreme importance of *disposition* in everything which is imparted by Christianity, in opposition to the art of magic which disregards the necessary connection of the divine and supernatural with the disposition of the heart. . . . These were Peter's words; "Thy gold etc.," as quoted in the text. These extracts are taken from the translation published by Clark in 1842, to the pages of which the reference was made in the lecture itself.—EDITORS.

But how different is the gloss which Neander seeks to put upon Peter's reply. 'These,' says he, 'were Peter's words—"Thy gold perish with thee." Do not deceive thyself as if with this disposition thou couldst have any part in what is promised to believers.'

Really this is not exegesis, but eisegesis. It is not bringing out the writer's meaning, but bringing in the commentator's.

Sometimes, when a meaning is thus unceremoniously introduced, it suits so well with its new company and falls with such natural ease into its usurped place, that one is half-tempted to pardon the intrusion and welcome the stranger as if he were the legitimate guest.

But this is certainly not the case in the present instance. There might, upon Neander's theory, be some semblance of pertinency in the reply which he puts into Peter's mouth, if the magician's proposal had been to buy the gifts themselves, because these, on Neander's view, would be the natural results and tokens of a Christian disposition, and therefore incapable of being bought and sold. But it is manifest and confessed that it was not these, but the power of conferring them, that Simon wished to buy. This power therefore it must be which Peter means by the 'gift of God'; and if so, it is manifest that, instead of correcting Simon's notion that the endowments in question were really conferred by the Apostles, he admits it, and sanctions what Neander is bound to regard as a mistaken view of the whole transaction. The course of these observations has thus led us to take notice of the remarkable person of whom we have been just speaking, Simon Magus; but the extent of them has left us little room for enlarging upon his character and history at any great length.

Simon has not escaped the hands of the Malthusian critics to whom I have already more than once alluded. They have endeavoured to identify him with a Jew of the same name, a sort of pandar of Felix, the governor of Judea, who, amongst other disreputable acquirements, affected the reputation of skill in magic.

Now it is certain that, at the time in question, there was abundance of such dealers in magic throughout Palestine, and it would not at all surprise me to find that at least a dozen of them were Simons. And since we learn from Josephus that Felix' convenient assistant in his love intrigues was by birth a Cyprian, a suitable country enough for a man of his turn, while Justin Martyr, himself a Samaritan, assures us that Simon Magus was a fellow-countryman of his own, and even names the obscure village Gittim where this portentous cub was whelped, the two magicians seem to be as plainly distinguished as any two men of the same trade and same name can be. I know that very high authorities have declared on the other side; but I cannot see that mere identity of name and profession, in the case of a very common name and very common profession, is any sufficient ground for setting aside the distinct testimony of competent witnesses.

But how various are the freaks of an over-luxuriant criticism! While some are engaged in thinning the list of vagabonds by identifying the Simon of the Acts with the Simon of Josephus, others are resolved to compensate the loss by distinguishing the Simon of the Acts from the Simon of later Ecclesiastical history. This notion, however, has been so decisively refuted by Mosheim, in the second volume of his 'Dissertation on Ecclesiastical History' that I think it not necessary to dwell upon it at present.

I have said that there were at this time in Palestine many such magicians as Simon. But I would not be understood to limit the remark to Palestine. The truth is that the Roman world was at this time beginning to be full of them. The age of which we speak was one of those, periodically recurring in the history of mankind, when men, wearied out with mere secular matters on the one hand, and sceptical speculations on the other, fling themselves for relief into a credulous pursuit of the supernatural and extravagant. It was, like our own, an age of quacks. And this you will observe was one of the great difficulties which Christianity had to encounter, and which it never could have surmounted if its

character had been the same as that of the thousand forms of imposture by which it was surrounded. The temper of the times might have lent it some support at first; but such a temper, being really a craving for excitement, is ever fickle and uncertain, and the very opposite of that serious, earnest, single-minded faith which the gospel demanded and received. Had the Apostles been thaumaturgists of the same class as Simon the Samaritan, or Alexander of Aboniteichos, or Apollonius of Tyana, they would have been lost, like them, after a while in the whirling vortex which soon engulfs the outworn fashions of a season. The next raree-show of wonders would have drawn away all their admirers to some greater novelty, and left the Christian schools as empty as the deserted walks of the Lyceum. Even as it was there was great danger—from the mere circumstance that both claimed supernatural powers—that the first teachers of them would be confounded with a class of men whom people followed only for a sort of amusement, and upon whose tricks it was soon felt that no stable religious system could be based. Indeed, if we consider it carefully, the Gnostical system is a proof of the strong impression which Christianity very early made as a new influence of extraordinary power, and distinguished in a marked manner from the rival systems which were continually rising and falling around it. Gnosticism was not, properly speaking, a Christian heresy; it was the form which a pre-existing theosophy took in consequence of the new stimulus which Christianity contributed. And it is a remarkable thing, therefore, that such a large number of founders of Gnostical schools should have found themselves coerced into dealing some way or other with the facts of Christianity, and making its phenomena, however mutilated, a portion of the phenomena with which their systems were to deal. Our habitual mode of regarding these men as merely Christian heretics, deprives their testimony of its due weight in this way:—we think of them ordinarily as persons who, having first embraced Christianity, were afterwards led astray by the influence of philosophy. But in many cases

the converse of this would be the more correct representation. In many cases the Gnostics were philosophers in the first instance, upon whom Christianity came from without, and whom it impelled to feel its force. The extent therefore to which the new principles of Christianity modified in the shape of Gnosticism the prevalent theosophy of this and the succeeding ages, is a clear proof that in Christianity some unusual power was exerted, and that this religion was distinguished in kind among its numerous competitors. Simon himself is, I think, correctly regarded by the Fathers as the very first Gnostic; he is in this respect a progenitor of Gnosticism, in the sense of having given the first example of it; though I think it must be conceded that, in their anxiety to make out a discreditable pedigree to the Gnostic teachers, the Fathers have generally ascribed a more extensive direct influence upon his successors to Simon's teaching than it really exercised. Not, however, that I am at all inclined to sympathise with those who would have us regard the Simon Magus of Ecclesiastical history as almost, if not quite, a mere mythical personage, the hero of a cycle of romantic legends. Doubtless there is a good deal of fable connected with the story of his adventures, but nevertheless I think that the Simon of Ecclesiastical history was a real person and a very considerable person; and that much of his history is genuine history. The late discovery of the work of Hippolytus—if Hippolytus' it be—against heresies, is sufficient to show us that the Fathers, in speaking of Simon Magus, had much larger and more correct information to guide them than some supercilious critics of their works were willing to allow. Into this part of the subject, however, I do not intend at present to enter; what I wish you now to observe is that the case of Simon furnishes us with an illustration of the remarks I have been just making upon the case of Gnostic teachers in general. Simon had come forward as the founder of a philosophico-religious school before he encountered the influences of Christianity, and it seems, as far as we can judge, that the main outlines of his system were the same

before he incorporated Christian elements into it as they were afterwards. Such a system was not unlikely to originate among Samaritans. The Samaritan faith, as I have already hinted, was a very different thing from that stern fidelity with which the body of the Jewish people adhered to the religion of Moses. The Samaritans' faith seems rather to have resembled the more yielding, imaginative faith of the pagans, preserving in this respect a strong tincture from the spirit of their heathen ancestors. The Samaritan Pentateuch, which, oddly enough, once found so favourable a reception amongst the half-learned Hebrew critics of the last generation, appears to me, and I believe to most competent judges of the present day, a thoroughgoing and unscrupulous recasting of the original text to suit the *à priori* requirements of an imperious but shallow criticism. In the Samaritan Version the hand of the falsifier appears still more undisguisedly, and there is throughout it that continual effort to substitute angelic for Divine agency, which seems to betray the presence of principles essentially Gnostic, principles which led men to regard the Supreme as a Being entirely withdrawn from the sphere of mundane activity, and to look upon inferior intelligences as the contrivers and managers of the religious dispensations under which mankind had lived. But it is in the strange chronicle which they substituted for all the later part of the sacred canon that the mythical character of the Samaritans is most distinctly revealed, and I question whether, even in the Breviary itself, a stranger heap of legendary trash was ever raked together. In this, however, I may be too severe upon the Samaritans; and certainly there are legends in the Martyrologies of the Greek and Latin Churches from which even Samaritans might learn some new ideas of the art of lying, even about their own country. You will be glad to be informed, from these veracious sources, that the name of the Samaritan woman with whom Christ conversed was Photina; that her sons were called Joseph and Victor; that she had three sisters, Photis, Parasceve, and Cyprica; and that she was connected with three illustrious dukes, Sebastian,

Anatolius, and Photius. She went to Carthage in the reign of Nero, and preached the gospel there; so that the Church as well as the City of Carthage owes its origin to a lady of not quite unblemished reputation. She had a son who was one of Nero's generals, who commanded in a distinguished campaign against some Spanish insurgents at Braga in Andalusia, and at the same time against the Avari in the east of Europe. This officer was the person who raised the Italian Band of which Cornelius was a centurion, and it was called the Italian Band because composed of Spaniards from the district Italica. Nero it appears tried alternately tortures and blandishments to bring over Photina and her family to paganism. The result however was, instead of giving way they succeeded in converting the Emperor's daughter—a Princess Arethusa concerning whom profane history is silent—one hundred young ladies of the bedchamber, and Lampadius, the state magician, to the Christian faith. These, with the Samaritan family, were ultimately all flayed alive upon March 20, but in what year is not so certain.² Gentlemen, you may well smile at such absurdities, but a knowledge of them is not wholly unprofitable. Such as these—so wild, so arbitrary, so full of names unheard of elsewhere, and of customs and ideas remote from the times to which they are attributed—would have been our sacred books also, if like them they had been mythic legends devised in ages distant from the date and scene of the occurrences which they report.

² Vide *Bollandum in Actis Sanctorum*, d. 20 Martii, p. 80, et tom. i. Maii, p. 211. Wolf. *Cur. Phil.* in Joh. iv. 7.—EDITORS.

LECTURE VII.

PROPER SENSE OF THE TERM DEVELOPMENT—CALLING OF THE GENTILES AND COUNCIL AT JERUSALEM.

GENTLEMEN,—We digressed so much from our main subject towards the close of our last lecture, that, in commencing the present one, I feel it necessary once more to remind you that we are tracing the gradual expansion of the Christian Church through the successive steps by which the wisdom of God saw fit to perfect it. That stage in the progress of this expansion which was reached in the conversion of the Samaritans and their reception by the church of Jerusalem, gave occasion to some remarks upon the transmission of miraculous gifts through the Apostles, and upon the character and circumstances of Simon Magus. These topics, however, were merely incidental to our main subject, and to that I desire, as soon as possible, to return. But before doing so, you must permit me to guard against mistakes by a few preliminary observations.

In treating of the expansion of the Christian Church I have repeatedly called it a 'development of Christianity.' Now development unhappily is one of those good old words which have fallen into suspicion with many from having been found often of late years in bad company. Lest you should suppose, then, that I was insidiously leading you into dangerous ground, I think it expedient not to go farther without showing that the developments of which I speak have scarce anything in common but the name with those which have latterly brought that name into disrepute among Protestants generally.

I should indeed, as I said in my first lecture, desire if possible to forget entirely in the course of these researches all reference to the disputes of the present; and I confess that the opportunity of doing this to a great extent is one principal charm which the study of the history of past ages has for myself. Others value antiquity only so far as it may be connected with the stirring incidents of modern controversy; and with these students the occurrences and characters of remote times are little better than a masquerade representation of present persons and events: as Maimbourg wrote a libel on the Jansenists under cover of a 'History of the Great Schism of the West,' and Mitford turned the history of ancient Greece into an oblique satire on the Whigs, and an oblique encomium upon the Tories. 'Ego contra, hoc quoque laboris premium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quæ nostra tot per annos vidit ætas, tantisper, certè dum prisca illa totâ mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curæ quæ scribentis animum, etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere possit.'¹

But it is not always possible to indulge ourselves in this way, nor is such an enjoyment quite safe when attended with the danger of important misconceptions. I feel myself therefore occasionally compelled to draw you aside from the mere contemplation of facts, to that of inferences which may be deduced from them.

In the few remarks which I am about to make, I do not at all intend to enter into the controversy about developments. That controversy has been already fully treated, I may say indeed exhausted, in two well-known works; the one by Dr. Newman, the other by the late Mr. Archer Butler, a man whose genius will be long admired, not only in this University, whose fostering care he repaid by the lustre which he flung around her name, but throughout the British churches.² To

¹ Liv. *Hist.* Præf.

² The Bishop here refers to Professor William Archer Butler's 'Letters on Mr. Newman's Theory of Development,' first printed in 1845 in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, and afterwards published in a separate volume,—a work which attracted great notice at that time, and still retains its high reputation.—EDITORS.

these works I would refer you, and if upon being thus reminded of them, I pause awhile, and suffer the feelings with which I first read them to revive in my mind, it is not for the purpose of adding to the controversy, but because the impression comes back on me so forcibly that I find it hard to smother it in silence.

The contrast between the two writers whom I have just named is indeed striking.

Both were learned, both expert dialecticians, both masters of no vulgar rhetoric. But the causes in which these potent arms are wielded are not more different than the spirit which actuated the combatants. One heartily believing in the power of reason to elicit truth, and faithfully applying that power to its discovery; the other avowedly sceptical upon this point, without faith in the efficacy of the instrument which he affects to use, choosing first the object of his belief, and then looking round for topics to vindicate that belief to the intellects of other men. Even at first sight one is struck, as in the comparison of two countenances, with the honesty stamped upon the face of one work, and the duplicity which lurks under the features of the other.

There is, indeed, something in Dr. Newman's manner of even approaching a subject, characteristic of the peculiarities of his mind. He seems to labour under a kind of intellectual squint. Partly from nature, and partly from inveterate habit, he seems incapable of taking a straightforward view of anything. The mind's eye glances off at once from a direct survey to the sides of whatever he contemplates, and, losing sight of all that is most obvious to others, lights on some collateral bearing, some chance-relation to accidental circumstances, and fastens there. This sinister power of discovering, and readiness to seize, the wrong handle of everything, is, curiously enough, what gives with many his great reputation for depth of thought: just as if a man should gain the character of a great navigator by going from this to Holyhead by the Cape of Good Hope instead of taking the direct course. The deep relations of things are to be sure not

obvious; but it is only a confused judgment which thence infers that the unobvious relations of things are profound. A relation wholly casual is often much less obvious than a necessary and essential one, nor is it depth, but a kind of superficial subtlety, which is required for tracing such remote but non-essential relations of things. Now with this sort of superficial subtlety Dr. Newman is largely endowed. And to this invaluable gift of logic, he adds a rhetorical talent most serviceable to a sophist. His wares are all exhibited in a many-coloured and uncertain light which makes it difficult to take any accurate survey of the showy fabrics which the voluble and persuasive dealer displays for your custom, and in this deceitful medium a thousand tricks are played off which it would be no easy task to enumerate. Infinite are the resources of his controversial craft, and everything is continually changing shapes under his magical touch. Sometimes a word or two, slipped in at the right place 'with careless heed and giddy cunning,' carries a conclusion far beyond its premises; sometimes a dazzling illustration so diverts the eye from the point of the question that it is changed upon us in a twinkling before we can look round; sometimes, where the straight and beaten road leads too plainly to an unwelcome position, the reader is beguiled, on some specious pretext, into a trackless fairyland, and conducted up and down its mazes till the safe highway on which he started is forgotten; while, during the whole process there is such an air of unapproachable sanctity thrown around the performer of this marvellous legerdemain as secures the sympathy of the simple, and makes the very suspicion of art appear little short of blasphemy. But I must remember that it is no part of my present task to criticise either Dr. Newman or his opponent. My business now is only to explain the nature of the developments of which I am speaking, and a very few words will suffice for drawing such a well-marked line of distinction between these and the developments which it was Dr. Newman's aim to establish, as will readily excuse me from meddling further in this much agitated controversy.

The great development, then, of which I am speaking, is that implied in the reception of the Gentiles into the Church of God.

Now, in arriving at this conclusion the Apostles did not, as I have already observed, so much work out a new truth as discover a new fact. Never, from the period of the great Pentecost,—never from that period, as I endeavoured to show you in a previous lecture,—had they doubted that the Law made no part of the covenant of salvation, or that faith in Jesus Christ was the one condition of that covenant. What they knew not was that the time had arrived when God would confer repentance unto life upon any but previous members of the commonwealth of Israel. And this again seems to have resulted from their ignorance of another fact, that the time had arrived when the strictly religious obligation of the Jewish rites upon the Jews themselves had terminated.

And secondly, the dissipating of their ignorance on these points was brought about, not by any process of metaphysically analysing the ideas of the Christian system, or by substituting a refined consideration of what is 'congruous, desirable, pious, decorous, generous' for strictly logical inferences from them, which are the chief means of Dr. Newman's development, but by direct and express revelation of the Most High. Peter was not left in that position of somewhat questionable dignity in which Dr. Newman's theory places his pretended successors, contemplating from a safe eminence the struggles of a vigorous development of doctrine as it sinks or swims amidst the boisterous waves of private judgment, and only then, when by the mere force of argument or sympathy it has gained the reason or the feelings of the universal Church to favour it,—only then, when it has beaten back the billows and securely reached the shore,—stepping forward (like Johnson's patron) to encumber it with his help and give it a sanction which he could no longer refuse if he would, and which it no longer requires if he did. Peter was enabled to lead, not to follow, the sentiments of the Church. The development we are considering was not first worked out by

the universal mind of the whole body of the Church, and then solemnly sanctioned by its rulers, but it was communicated in the way of direct revelation, first to its guides, and then by their testimony and reasoning commended to the body of believers. An emblematic vision thrice repeated (the repetition being probably understood, according to the analogy of Pharaoh's dream, to intimate the certainty and urgency of the meaning)—an emblematic vision thrice repeated conveyed to Peter the assurance that the partition wall which had hitherto separated Jews and Gentiles was now removed. Nor was he even left to himself in drawing the obvious inference from such a vision. When the messengers come from Cornelius a new inspiration directs him to go with the men, nothing doubting, since they had in reality been sent by heaven; and when he arrives at the Centurion's house he learns that a previous independent miraculous vision had warned his host to send for him. Nor is this all. While Peter is executing a mission thus guaranteed by repeated miracles, and before he has completed it, the Holy Spirit descends upon his hearers, manifesting the presence of a divine power by the same extraordinary gifts as had been bestowed upon the Apostles themselves. The sternest Protestant, I think, can hardly object to a development of Christian doctrine thus conducted; and the circumstances of it, instead of encouraging us to mix up our own conclusions about what is fit and decorous with the matter of divine inspiration, seem to me to warn us very significantly of the danger of any such proceeding.

But I have not even yet done with the safeguards provided for ascertaining this great development as a part of the gospel. Previously to this express revelation made to Peter, another Apostle had been called by a wonderful miracle, whose vocation was specially to the Gentiles, and that vocation was further attested by other miracles; by a distinct independent revelation to Ananias marking Paul out as a chosen vessel to bear Christ's name to the Gentiles, by a second vision

of Christ in the temple by Paul himself, and by the oracle of the Holy Ghost addressed to the prophets at Antioch.

Nor is it only by the multitude of these separate independent revelations that the certainty of this grand development is guarded; it is further carefully shielded from every suspicion of having been worked out by mere reasoning in the minds of those to whom the revelation was made, by the peculiar circumstances of the persons selected as the receivers of those revelations. Peter, the very Apostle of the Circumcision, a pillar of the church in Jerusalem, is the very first person authoritatively to admit with apostolic sanction the uncircumcised to the full privileges of Christian brotherhood. Paul, the pupil of Gamaliel, brought up in the strictest prejudices of Pharisaism, is summoned, in the very act of persecuting the disciples, to the work of converting the outcasts of heathendom, and Ananias, by whom this mission is confirmed, is specially noted to have been 'a devout man according to the Law.' What a complexity of confirming circumstances is here! and how carefully does the true guide of the Church—the illuminating Spirit of truth—provide rational evidence to assure our judgment of the certainty of those developments of which He is really the author!

And now—

cæstus artemque repono.

I have done I hope with polemical theology, and may escape once more into the quiet paths of mere historical research. Let me observe then, by way of transition, that some of the circumstances which I have just been noticing seem to afford a reason for Paul's making, as he tells us in the Epistle to the Galatians, a journey to Jerusalem three years after his conversion, for the special purpose of seeing Peter, and of seeing him alone. You will observe that, with Neander, I place this visit to Jerusalem after the baptism of Cornelius and his family: and besides the reasons which he alleges for it, it strikes me as not unimportant that, if Paul had been dwelling fifteen days with Peter previous to that event, it is

scarce credible that the calling of the Gentiles should have come upon him so completely by surprise. It is agreed I believe on all hands, that this visit to Jerusalem is the same as that to which Paul himself refers in Acts xxii. 17-19, and if so we must admit that during this very visit Paul received a second miraculous assurance of his mission to the Gentiles. Is it possible then that, dwelling as he tells us he did, in the same house with Peter, he should not have acquainted him with the most important circumstance connected with himself, the circumstance with which above all others his own mind must have been filled? And if he had done so, if Peter had been already aware of the nature of Paul's mission, and known that God had miraculously raised him up as an Apostle to the Uncircumcision, how can we account for his surprise at receiving a similar mission himself?

But if, on the contrary, we admit the order of events which to me seems probable, fresh light will appear to be shed upon the whole narrative. When Paul heard that Peter had been instructed by a vision in the same truth which had been revealed to him, he was naturally anxious to see his partner in this signal grace. The word which he uses *ἱστορήσαι Πέτρον* is remarkable. It is applied, you know, by the Greek writers to the visits made by travellers to survey remarkable places or become acquainted with distinguished men. And its peculiar force in this place is specially noted by Chrysostom in his commentary upon the passage. Now why was Peter alone such a special object of curiosity to Paul? Not merely as a pillar of the Church, for so were James and John. Is it not most natural to suppose that it was some share which he had in the same revelation which made Paul so eager to see and to confer with him?

But again, we find in Acts xxii. 19, the place to which I just now referred you, the Lord telling Paul that his testimony would not be received in Jerusalem. Now what was it that made his testimony thus peculiarly distasteful? Not merely that he had been a persecutor of the Church. This might create a prejudice against him at first: but three years had

now elapsed to prove his sincerity, and the circumstance of his having sought to preach the faith which he once destroyed would now rather tell in his favour. And so it is plain from his reply he was disposed to think himself: 'Lord, they know that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue those that believe on Thy name, and when the blood of Thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting, and kept the raiment of them that slew him.' There was therefore something peculiarly exasperating in Paul's testimony, over and above his personal circumstances; and this I imagine was the peculiar distinctness with which he avowed the catholicity of the gospel offer of salvation. Now you will observe, that immediately on the conversion of Cornelius, the anger of the Pharisaic party, even within the Church, is strongly excited, and though Peter succeeds in allaying it for the present, still it is plain from the after-history, that it is only for a time that it is allayed; and not long after, without the Church, persecution rouses itself again into renewed activity. No doubt the new phase it was assuming alarmed the zealots for the law, both within and without the Church, and it is manifest to me that, from the time of the actual call of the Gentiles, a reaction even began to take place in favour of a stricter Judaism than had before prevailed. As the gospel actually spread among strangers, the question concerning its relation to the law was every day more distinctly forced upon men's notice, and they were compelled to make their option between recognising the abolition of the Mosaic code, and making Christianity a mere appendage upon Judaism. As long as the universal character of Christianity existed only *in posse*, not in fact,—as long as practically the gospel was confined to the limits of the commonwealth of Israel,—a Christian Jew might, with a comparatively slight shock to his prejudices, be brought to acknowledge that eternal life was given upon the sole condition of faith in Christ; since as long as the publication of that faith was confined to the favoured people, there would remain an intelligible purpose in their separate incorporation as a theocratic state. But

when eternal life was being bestowed upon vast multitudes beyond the pale of the Mosaic institutions, the case was altered. The question then immediately arose: 'What advantage then hath a Jew, and what profit is there in circumcision?' If others could obtain and were obtaining all the blessings of the better covenant without them, were not the ceremonies a mere burdensome yoke imposed upon one section of the Church, and placing it under a manifest disadvantage rather than conferring upon it a higher privilege? These reflections, I say, would force men upon the issue either of recognising the idea of the total abolition of the law, or of regarding the law as a portion at least of the gospel covenant. And I think it is plain that very soon many began to make a wrong option between these two alternatives; and it is almost needless to remark that dread of persecution from the Jewish rulers would greatly increase and foster this disposition towards the wrong choice. From the first, the rulers seem to have perceived with instinctive sagacity this tendency of Christianity to displace Judaism. There was nothing in their circumstances to blind them to it, since they regarded the new creed with hostility, and hate itself made them quicksighted to perceive—what the disciples so long could not perceive—its antagonism to institutions which both they and the disciples loved. This tendency, then, in Christianity, from the first filled the rulers with alarm. The most material charge of the witnesses against our Lord was that he had used words which seemed to imply an approaching destruction of the temple. The persecution which arose about Stephen had a like origin. And now upon the public reception of the Gentiles in Jerusalem and Antioch, we find Herod gratifying the Jews by renewed outrages upon the Church. The best way then to conciliate the rulers to Christianity was to deny, or dissemble, or keep out of view, the universal character of Christianity. And hence we may perceive how peculiarly dangerous and distasteful may have been at this juncture the presence of such a man as Paul, 'speaking openly,' as Luke

mentions, 'in the name of the Lord, and disputing specially with the Hellenistic Jews.

Then as to the second visit to Jerusalem mentioned in Gal. ii., I confess that the whole leaning of my mind is in favour of the hypothesis which identifies it with the occurrence in Acts xi. 27. Almost all the circumstances mentioned square with this, while they are quite unlike those attending his embassy to the Council, Acts xv. Paul tells us that he went up on occasion of a special revelation—*κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν*. And this we know he did in the case mentioned in Acts xi. He went in consequence of the revelation of a famine made by Agabus. But in his other visit there is no mention at all of any such thing. His move upon that occasion is spoken of as a mere arrangement of the Church at Antioch. Again, in the Epistle to the Galatians Paul describes himself as stating the substance of his preaching privately to them who were of reputation—whom he afterwards denotes by name as James, Cephas, and John. Now this can only be made to square with his attendance on the Council by very great violence. For even though some private conferences may have preceded that public meeting, it would be strange if Paul had mentioned only these, and that in such a manner as seems to exclude others. For I think that Neander's translation of this passage is utterly intolerable.¹ He supposes that public and private meetings are both mentioned. 'I imparted to them the gospel which I preach.' This he says is the public announcement; 'but privately to the eminent men'—here he finds the private one. Now upon this point I must only beg of you to look at the passage in the Greek, and judge for yourselves whether the words will bear it. This difficulty is indeed a millstone round the neck of all interpretations which make this text refer to the Council at Jerusalem. Besides, if this visit were not really the second visit which he made to Jerusalem, we can give no rational account of the Apostle's drift in mentioning it without sacrificing his character for ingenuousness. His purpose is manifestly to

¹ *Planting*, i. pp. 120, 1.

show what little intercourse he had with the Church in Jerusalem. He had mentioned one short visit, when he saw none of the Apostles but Peter and James. After that, he says, he left the city and was unknown by face to the churches in Judæa; and then, 'fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem.'

Now it really does seem to me that this would be conveying a false impression, if in the meanwhile he had been perfectly well known to the churches in Judæa,—if in the meanwhile he had visited Jerusalem, and seen the Apostles and elders there. Because, when a man's plain object is to show how little intercourse he had with certain people, and when he lays stress upon the length of the interval between two visits, and is careful to mark the time which elapsed, and the strangeness which existed between himself and another party previously to a certain date, all this seems to convey the impression that he is stating accurately the whole of that intercourse. I think it is material therefore to the correctness of Paul's or Luke's statements that we should hold this to have been really his second visit, and that it took place when he went up with the collection from Antioch. And if we admit this, I can see no considerable difficulty. The only difficulty in fact that appears to be very seriously alleged is the chronological one about the fourteen years. But there is some, though I allow slight authority, for reading here four instead of fourteen, and whichever is the true reading, it is confessed on all hands that the chronology of the Acts is exceedingly confused and quite uncertain. I deem it much better therefore to argue from circumstances which we do know pretty certainly, than from a chronology upon which scarce any two persons can be brought to agree.

But we have been occupied too long with the intricacies of these minute details. Let us take up again the interrupted thread of our narrative.

It must be evident from what I have already said, that the great danger which now threatened the Church was that of a disruption between the Jewish and the Gentile branches of it. It was to prevent such a disruption that the assembly

was convened which goes under the name of the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem.

On the absurdity of regarding this as a General Council I need not enlarge; but there are many nevertheless who are possessed with the idea that it was convened to decide on a point of faith, and that the Gentile churches submitted to it, through Paul and Barnabas, the decision of the great point whether salvation was through the law or not? Nothing I conceive can be more alien from the character of Paul than to be any party to such a proceeding. In reality, this was not a point upon which the opinions of the Apostles needed to be collected. They were perfectly known to him already. And even had the whole college dissembled, like Peter at Antioch a little before this Council, the intrepid champion of Gentile liberty would no doubt have remained unshaken. He would have said to the Church: 'Though we or an angel from heaven teach any other doctrine than that we have delivered, let him be Anathema!'

No doubt the giving way of the other Apostles would have been a sad blow to Christian freedom. It might have, and would have, altered the views of many Gentiles, but it could not change the truth of God, or make that which had been revealed to Paul cease to be revelation.

And if Paul would not on such a point have submitted to the authority of the other Apostles, when opposed to the express revelations made to him and to Peter, still less can we suppose he would have submitted to the judgment of the uninspired elders of Jerusalem.

Yet the truth is, I think, that the assembly was convened much more with reference to the elders and people than to the Apostles. About the sentiments of the Apostles there was no doubt whatever. The grand thing to be gained was a cordial recognition of the Gentiles by the whole of the principal church of the Circumcision—the disavowal of the false teachers who had been creating so much dissension—and the arrangement of some lasting plan for peace and goodwill between the Jewish believers and their Gentile neighbours.

The plan suggested by James was a mild and prudent one. It was that the Gentile Christians should continue to observe those peculiarities which were all that had been required from Gentile worshippers of the true God by the more moderate Jews even under the law. And as the great body of the converts had already belonged to that class, this was in fact, with respect to most of them, only requiring that they should not change their mode of life upon becoming Christians.

A most needless and perplexing stir has been made about the name proselytes as applied to such devout Gentiles, and the precise nature of their position. Upon this subject I have great satisfaction in agreeing with Dean Milman's 'History of Christianity to the Extinction of Paganism,' vol. i. p. 417.

'It is disputed whether Cornelius was, in fact, a proselyte of the gate (see, on one side, Lord Barrington's Works, vol. i. p. 128, and Benson's "History of Christianity"; on the other, Kuinoel, *in loco*). He is called *εὐσεβὴς* and *φοβούμενος τὸν Θεόν*, the usual appellation of proselytes; he bestowed alms on the Jewish people, he observed the Jewish hours of prayer, he was evidently familiar with the Jewish belief in angels, and not unversed in the Jewish Scriptures. Yet, on the other hand, the objections are not without weight. The whole difficulty appears to arise from not considering how vaguely the term of "proselyte at the gate" must, from the nature of things, have been applied, and the different feelings entertained towards such converts by the different classes of the Jews. While the proselytes, properly so called—those who were identified with the Jews by circumcision—were a distinct and definite class, the proselytes of the gate must have comprehended all who made the least advances towards Judaism, from those who regularly attended on the services of the synagogue, and conformed in all respects, except circumcision, with the ceremonial law, down, through the countless shades of opinion, to those who merely admitted the first principle of Judaism—the unity of God—were occasional attendants in the synagogue, and had only, as it were, ascended

the first steps on the threshold of conversion. The more rigid Jews looked with jealousy even on the circumcised proselytes; the terms of admission were made as difficult and repulsive as possible; on the imperfect they looked with still greater suspicion, and were rather jealous of communicating their exclusive privileges than eager to extend the influence of their opinions. But the more liberal must have acted upon different principles; they must have encouraged the advances of incipient proselytes; the synagogues were open throughout the Roman Empire, and many who, like Horace, "went to scoff," may "have remained to pray." As, then, the Christian Apostles always commenced their labours in the synagogue of their countrymen, among all who might assemble there from regular habit or accidental curiosity, they would address heathen minds in every gradation of Jewish belief, from the proselyte who only wanted circumcision, to the Gentile who had only just begun to discover the superior reasonableness of the Jewish Theism. Hence the step from the conversion of imperfect proselytes to that of real Gentiles must have been imperceptible, or rather, even with the Gentile convert, that which was the first principle of Judaism, the belief in one God, was an indispensable preliminary to his admission of Christianity. The one great decisive change was from the decree of the Apostolic Council (Acts xv.), obviously intended for real though imperfect proselytes, to the total abrogation of Judaism by the doctrines of St. Paul.'

The last sentence, however, of this striking passage might suggest, I think, an erroneous view. It might suggest the suspicion of some inconsistency between the Apostolic Decree, to which Paul was a consenting party, and Paul's own doctrine of the total abrogation of the law. Now there is not the shadow of such an inconsistency. Paul had gained his great point, a public declaration of the freedom of the Gentiles from the Mosaic rules. When this was once safe, he was always afterwards just as tender of Jewish scruples as upon this occasion. What he resisted was everything and any-

thing put forward under the idea of a part of the Christian covenant which was not part of it. When a compromise was demanded upon this ground he would not yield—no, not for an hour. But here all notion of such an obligation was expressly and solemnly disowned. Indeed, as I said, with the great body of the Greek Christians the apostolic decree did but carry out Paul's well-known rule—that every man should abide in the vocation wherein he was called. They had been already, before their reception into the Church, living in the observance of these rules, and they were not to discontinue them. For everywhere you will observe that Paul is just as anxious to show that uncircumcision is no part of the gospel any more than circumcision, and therefore he would have no man change his mode of life on becoming a Christian, lest it should be supposed that such a change was part of Christianity.

And for the rest, the decree of the Apostles did but prescribe the same rule as Paul himself prescribes in the latter part of his Epistle to the Romans, and in the Epistle to the Corinthians: 'If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.'

LECTURE VIII.

*RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO JUDAISM—SUPPOSED
PETRINE AND PAULINE PARTIES.*

GENTLEMEN,—The Gentile Church always looked up to Antioch as its metropolis, until the dignity derived from purely spiritual privileges was eclipsed in men's eyes by the lustre reflected from secular splendour upon the two rival sees of Old and New Rome. It was here, as the Evangelist reminds us, that the Church assumed a form so markedly distinguished from Judaism as to need and receive a new name among the heathen.

The very form of the word 'Christian' seems to assert its Latin origin. It is formed after the analogy of many other names of parties familiar in these times to the Roman ear—Pompeians, Neronians, Cæsarians. And it is natural that the Romans, in whose language *Christus* had no connotation of office or quality, and whose grammar laboured under the defect of having no article, should have been the first to treat that title as a mere proper name.

There are some half-learned critics indeed who claim for this famous appellation a far nobler origin. They have observed that elsewhere in the New Testament *χρηματίζω* denotes the delivery of a divine oracle; and *χρηματίζομαι* in the passive, the reception of such an oracle, and hence they have inferred that in the present case the name Christian was imposed upon the disciples by divine revelation.

But I need hardly point out to you the strangeness of this reasoning. The verb here is not passive in voice, and therefore cannot mean to be the subject of a divine oracle. And

it cannot mean to deliver a divine oracle, because that would make nonsense of the passage. The only consistent meaning is that which is given by our translators; and of that meaning innumerable examples might be given out of the classics; and one very clear one occurs in the Epistle to the Romans, vii. *Ὁ, μοιχαλὶς χρηματίζει.* 'She shall be called an adulteress.'

If indeed this title had been conferred upon the members of the Church by divine authority, it is incredible that Luke himself, and the other sacred writers also, should not henceforward have customarily applied it to them. Whereas it must be unnecessary for me to remind you that in the only other three instances in which the name occurs in the New Testament, it is never applied by Christians to themselves, but always alluded to as a name given to them by unbelievers. Very soon after the close of the inspired canon, however, it did become the customary title of believers, even among believers themselves; so that in even the earliest succeeding relics of ecclesiastical antiquity, it meets us almost in every page. And this striking circumstance has been very strongly, and I think very fairly, urged by the Archbishop of Dublin¹ as an internal evidence of the genuineness of the books of the New Testament. Had they been composed in any later age than that to which they are commonly referred, it is impossible that such a phenomenon should have presented itself.

Let me here observe by the way, that the criticism of my friend Dr. Dobbin, by which he endeavours to prove that all the Gospels were written before any other books of the New Testament from the fact that our Lord is almost always called Jesus in the Gospels, while elsewhere he is styled commonly the Lord Jesus, Jesus Christ, or Christ simply—this argument, I say, does not appear to me equally convincing.

It appears to me quite natural that the Evangelists' minds, when relating the circumstances of our Saviour's life, should have reverted to the posture, so to speak, in which they contemplated those circumstances at the time when they occurred, however distant the period at which they actually

¹ Dr. Whately.

wrote these narratives. The very act of throwing themselves back into the time when they attended their Master in the flesh, would, as it seems to me, naturally revive the old familiar way of thinking and speaking concerning him. This answer to Dr. Dobbin's ingenious argument occurred to me immediately when he showed me the proof-sheets of his work, and I was long afterwards still more confirmed in the view which I had taken by finding that it occurred, also quite independently, to the Archbishop and to the late Bishop Copleston.

But this is only a remark by the way. What we are to deal with at present is the history before us, which leads us in the next place to a consideration of the spread of the gospel among the heathen, and the formation of churches under Paul's direction, composed of a mixed body of Jews and Gentiles. I say a mixed body of Jews and Gentiles, for it is worth observing that there is scarcely a single church mentioned, of all that Paul gathered, that can safely be affirmed to have been of purely Gentile composition. And it is further remarkable that down to the date of the very latest of his writings, there seem to remain in almost all these churches, symptoms, still more or less definitely marked, of the same struggle between the two parties as we have noticed already in Palestine. But the Jewish element seems to have been mixed in very unequal proportions, and in very various forms, through the different churches of his province. The Jewish element appears strongest, and assumes its sternest shape of Pharisaism, in the case of the churches of Galatia. There the Judaisers appear actually on the point of carrying all before them; and the Apostle feels himself called upon to put forth all his strength in opposing their influence. There is no trace that I can discover in this case of a reactionary feeling, or any tendency towards an undue depressing of the Mosaic dispensation. Next perhaps to this comes the case of the Roman church. But here there is a marked difference. Here we plainly do discover traces of reaction, plain symptoms of no slight struggles between an extreme Gentile and an extreme Jewish party. You will observe how often in his

Epistle to this church, the Apostle stops in the very heat and urgency of his argument against the Jews, to acknowledge and vindicate their just privileges, and the real excellence of the law; and how he finds it needful to check and reprove the disposition on the part of the Gentiles to insult and glory over 'the natural branches' of the divinely planted 'olive tree.' Indeed it is manifest that, in the latter chapters of this Epistle, he is setting himself as earnestly against Gentile intolerance as he had set himself in the earlier ones against Jewish. A Gentile party in the Roman church, it is plain, were inclined to treat with utter contempt, if not with severity, that regard for their national institutions which led the Jewish Christians to retain the observance of the Mosaic holy days as still binding on their consciences, and in some cases to abstain in a heathen city from animal food entirely—like Daniel and his companions in Nebuchadnezzar's court—lest they should unawares be contaminated by meat imperfectly bled, or polluted by a previous consecration to some idol-deity.

In the case of the churches of Ephesus and Colossæ the influence of Judaism appears modified into a kind of Essene shape, with a tincture of Greek and Oriental philosophy; and in the case of the church at Corinth the Jewish element appears to me—contrary to the general opinion—peculiarly weak. In the First Epistle I can scarcely trace its influence anywhere but in the chapter about marriage and in the matter of things offered to idols; and the repugnance in this latter case to seeming to acknowledge the false deities of heathenism may be traced to feelings not peculiarly Jewish.

This is a point of some consequence, and therefore you will permit me to enlarge upon it somewhat more fully.

The peculiarly Jewish prejudice, then, against eating meat offered to idols was founded upon the notion that by its consecration to the idol worship it became unclean—an abominable meat—with a physical contamination adhering to it. And it is plainly against such a notion that Paul is speaking in the Epistle to the Romans, when he corrects

it by saying, 'I know and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus Christ, that there is nothing unclean of itself; but to him that thinketh anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean.' But the ground taken in the First Epistle to the Corinthians seems somewhat different. Here the objection felt is not to the impurity of the meat, but to the apparent recognition of the idol implied in partaking of the banquet. And the knowledge which was supposed to remove this objection was not a knowledge of the true Christian notion of clean and unclean, but a knowledge that the idol-deity had no real existence. And if the reading of chapter viii. 7 which Lachmann has adopted be correct, some at least of those who felt the objection most strongly are plainly marked out as Gentiles, not as Jews. The common text is—*ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν πᾶσιν ἡ γνῶσις· τινὲς δὲ τῇ συνειδήσει τοῦ εἰδώλου ἕως ἄρτι ὡς εἰδωλόθυτον ἐσθίουσιν* i.e.: 'But all have not this knowledge. For some through conscience of the idol to this hour eat it as a thing offered to an idol.' Lachmann, however, on the testimony of the Alexandrian MS. and several other ancient authorities, for *συνειδήσει* reads *συννηθεία*, which would make the meaning to be, that some through custom or habit of the idol do still eat it as a thing offered to an idol. And I confess that to me not only the external, but the internal evidence also seems strongly to preponderate in favour of this reading.² It seems, I think, very much favoured by the words *ἕως ἄρτι* 'even still'—'even to this hour.' This expression seems manifestly to refer to the continuance of a previous habit; and almost even of itself implies that the persons spoken of were men who having been long accustomed in their pagan state to consider the partaking of such viands as an act of worship addressed to certain superior powers, could not, even after their conversion, divest their minds of the old familiar associations.

I acknowledge indeed that, in a later chapter, he speaks

² This reading is adopted in the Revised Version: 'Some, being used until now to the idol.'—EDITORS.

of taking care to give no offence in respect of these meats to either Jews or Greeks, but then I must be allowed to observe that he is there speaking of unconverted Jews and unconverted Greeks, since he expressly distinguishes them from Christians. 'Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor yet to the Greeks, nor to the Church of God.' So that, on the whole, I am not satisfied that we can, at least very distinctly, trace any certain reference to a Judaising party in the church of Corinth throughout the whole of this discussion about things offered in sacrifice to idols.

Let us look now at the chapter about marriage, 1 Cor. chap. vii. It has been supposed that in the very first verse of this chapter he refers to a dogma of certain Judaisers who held that celibacy was unlawful, and that every man was bound to marry, which tenet the Apostle contradicts by saying that celibacy, like marriage, is *καλόν*—a good or lawful thing. And certainly it must be allowed that there is some reason for thinking that some tenet of this kind may have been held by some Judaisers in the apostolic times, since it is distinctly ascribed to some of the Ebionites by Epiphanius.³ However, I think that this class of the Ebionites were persons whose opinions were modified by influences of much later date; and that the Clementines, which are also referred to as evidence upon this point, are affected by the same objection. Still it must be granted that Jewish feeling generally ran in a strong current against celibacy. But then I must be permitted to add to this conception, that such was not the current of Jewish feeling only, but of popular feeling generally amongst the Greeks and Romans also. This has been well shown by Dodwell, with his usual profusion of learning, and much more than his usual modicum of good sense, in his Appendix to the sixth chapter of the Second Dissertation of Bishop Pearson on the Succession of the Roman Bishops. And if you will look into the amusing and instructive collections of Stobæus, you will find that a question about the relative merits of celibacy and the marriage state was just as

³ *Adv. Ebion.* ii.

likely to be suggested from purely Gentile sources as from Jewish ones. Here therefore I can see no certain reference to a Judaizing party. But in one part of this chapter at least, I think I do see a reference to Jewish prejudice. It is at verse 14, where he says, 'The unbelieving husband is sanctified in the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified in the husband; else were your children unclean, but now are they holy.' If indeed I could put the same construction upon this passage as Neander,⁴ even this solitary reference to Judaism would disappear. But to his interpretation I find it impossible to reconcile myself.

The Apostle, I think, has in his eye a dogma of the Jewish rabbis, who taught that when a Gentile became a proselyte to the law, he became so literally a new person that all his previously subsisting relations of affinity, or even consanguinity, to his unbelieving relatives were annulled. His wife was no longer his wife; his children no longer his children, insomuch that should a daughter born before proselytism afterwards herself become a proselyte, the father might marry her without incest.⁵ In opposition to this, the Apostle recurs to the first principles of Christian ethics. Holiness and unholiness, purity and impurity, are not physical qualities of external things or persons in relation to us, but exist in the aim or disposition of our own minds towards them. Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving. Hence in the case of marriage with an unbeliever, this is a true Christian relationship to that party who views it in a Christian light. The impure or wrong disposition of the unbelieving mind does not affect that relationship in reference to the believing party, so long as his disposition is pure and right. Otherwise, if holiness were an external relation, we should be compelled to

⁴ *Planting*, vol. i. pp. 192-3. 'The Apostle is here treating of the sanctifying influence of the communion between parents and children, by which the children of Christian parents would be distinguished from the children of those who were not Christian, and in virtue of which they might in a sense be termed ἁγία, in contrast with the ἀκάθαρα.'—EDITORS.

⁵ Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* in Joh. iii. 3.

follow out the consequences of the Jewish dogma, and hold that the offspring also of such a marriage could stand in no sanctified relation to their parents.

This seems to me the plain drift of the Apostle's remarks, and in them I recognise an undeniable reference to Jewish prejudices. And another occurs in the eighteenth verse, where he says, 'Is anyone called in uncircumcision, let him not become circumcised.' This, however, is only given as an example of a general rule, and there is nothing to show that the Corinthians needed to have the injunction very earnestly pressed upon them.

As to the notion that in the fifteenth chapter the Apostle is combating Sadducean prejudices, I think it is scarcely worth refuting. The denial of the resurrection had an obvious source in Greek prejudice, as, if we required proof, we might learn from the reception which Paul's mention of it met at Athens, without searching for this remote one. And a Sadducean source in this case is peculiarly improbable. The Sadducees were a very small party, confined, as far as we can at all perceive, to Palestine, nor is there the least symptom anywhere in the New Testament, or out of it, of any blending whatever, under any circumstances, of Sadducism and Christianity. Many a foul stream ran into the current of Christian doctrine, but this never.

So much then for the evidence to be brought from the First Epistle to the Corinthians. From the Second perhaps you may be inclined to think that something considerably more weighty may be brought, but on examination I believe it will turn out that even this is not quite decisive.

If you will examine, for instance, the third chapter carefully in connection with the preceding and following context, it will appear, I think, that the Apostle is much rather engaged in vindicating himself from the charge of having at any time Judaised and concealed his sentiments, than in guarding his hearers against Judaism. And though it certainly appears from the latter part of the Epistle that some of the false Apostles whom he censures, valued themselves

upon their pure Jewish descent, as well as upon their zeal, their sufferings, and their attainments, yet this does not, I think, prove that they were properly speaking Judaisers. They might certainly pique themselves upon such an honour without endeavouring to bring the Gentiles under the yoke of Judaism; and if they had been exerting their influence, which was manifestly great, among the Corinthians for such a purpose, I am at a loss to understand why there should not be, not mere chance allusions only to such a vital matter, but distinct references to it, and strong and earnest arguments against it, in these two Epistles as well as in those to the Galatians and the Romans. But this, you know, is so far from being the case, that it is with a totally different class of errors and abuses that the Apostle deals all through these Epistles to the Corinthians. It is with the Greek fondness for eloquence and philosophy, with Greek licentiousness of manners, with Greek fickleness and insubordination, with Greek scepticism, with Greek vanity, that he is continually engaged, not with his old enemies, Pharisaic pride and scrupulosity, and the notion of the eternal obligation of the Mosaic law, and the necessity of circumcision.

Indeed I cannot but think that what has made the later German critics cling so tenaciously to the idea of a strong Judaizing influence in the Church at Corinth, is their feeling it to be indispensable to a favourite theory of theirs, by means of which they imagine they can solve a thousand difficult phenomena in Ecclesiastical history, but which stands upon a very narrow basis of fact. The theory of which I speak is, that there existed in many places two separate communities of Christians, a Petrine and a Pauline, of which the former were zealots for the law, and claimed Peter as the source of their doctrine, the other assertors of Christian liberty, who preserved the tradition of Paul.

Wonderful things have been done by the help of this theory. Those who hold in their hands this marvellous key can disclose to us at once the true origin of the old story which makes Peter the founder and first Bishop of the Church at

Rome. Peter himself, it seems, never was in bodily presence at Rome at all. The story about him is merely a myth founded upon the fact (founded, as we shall presently see, upon little more than nothing), that there was in Rome and elsewhere a Petrine Judaizing Christian community, which looked up to this Apostle as its head. Hence also (they tell us) sprang the Bishop Dionysius' story of Peter's having been at Corinth;⁶ and indeed, on these principles, we are not to be surprised at finding Peter possessed of a sort of ubiquity, and at meeting him anywhere or everywhere at one and the same time. Hence also they proceed to account for that odd jumble of so many names into the few first years of the early succession of the See of Rome, which has otherwise a most perplexing look, as if two or three prelates sat in each others' laps—they account for this, I say, by supposing that the Petrine and Pauline communities of Christian Rome, like the early kingdom of Pagan Rome, had two distinct lines of Bishops presiding over them respectively. Now as I myself am weak enough to be pretty well satisfied that Peter really did visit Rome and die there—as I feel no difficulty in crediting Dionysius' statement that he really was at Corinth too—and as I think that his immediate successors can be tolerably well made out as it is, and that it would be no great matter if they could not, I feel no pressing need of this theory, and can look at the positive evidence in support of it without any strong prejudice in its favour to cloud my judgment. And scanning that evidence in this dry light, I really am unable to find much more than the single fact, that there was a party in the Church at Corinth which claimed on some grounds or other Pèter as their hero. This seems to me all that we are literally told in the Epistles to the Corinthians. Some said 'We are of Paul,' and some said 'We are of Apollos,' and some said 'We are of Cephas,' and some, 'We are of Christ.' But I can find in these Epistles no light to guide us to the determination of the question, what the sentiments of this Petrine party were, or on what ground they claimed that Apostle as

• Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.* II. xxv. 8.

their leader. The only circumstance connected with them that I think can be clearly made out is one inconsistent with the theory now under consideration. I do think that it is clear that they formed no separate community, any more than the party of Paul, of Apollos, or of Christ. All these are spoken of as parties in the Church, not as separate churches. There is not the least trace that I can discover of their having separate meetings or separate officers. On the contrary, Paul's complaint is that when the Christians of Corinth came *together in the church*, these parties broke out into disgraceful dissension. But of separate communities there is not a word.

But whether the Petrine party formed a community or not, we are left, as I said, by these Epistles to mere guess and conjecture for determining their peculiar character. And certainly, I for my part should scarcely have guessed that a high Judaising party would, out of all the Apostles of the Circumcision, have selected Peter as their hero, because of all the sacred college there were none, except Paul and Barnabas, who had so completely pledged themselves to the cause of Gentile liberty, and so unequivocally rejected the necessity of circumcision as Peter. It must be acknowledged indeed, that when we pass beyond the pages of the sacred volume we do find traces of a certain party among the Ebionites whose favourite hero was the Apostle Peter. There is a curious book called the Clementine Homilies, purporting to be composed by Clement of Rome, but in reality the work of some Jewish forger, which is in point of fact a romance about Peter's adventures and a pretended account of his doctrine and preaching. I cannot find in these Clementines much support for such a Petrine community in the Christian Church as we are seeking for. And as a further proof that Peter was not identified with any strict Pharisaic party, I may add that we have preserved to us some few fragments of another document, professing to give an account of Peter's preaching, and of considerably greater antiquity than the Clementine Homilies.⁷ The character of

⁷ *The Prædicatio Petri*, the extracts from which, preserved by Clement of Alexandria, may be found in Grabe, *Syneclegium*, vol. i. pp. 62 *sqq.*—
EDITORS.

this document is decidedly anti-Judaic. Indeed it gives a grossly exaggerated caricature of Judaism. 'Do not worship,' Peter is made to say, 'according to the manner of the Jews, for they, supposing that they alone know God, are really ignorant of Him; adoring angels and archangels, the month and the moon; and except the moon appear, they do not keep that Sabbath which is called the first, nor the new moon, nor the Passover, nor the Feast, nor the Great Day.' And in another fragment he is made to refer to the books of Hystaspes and the Sibyl as prophets whom God had raised up amongst the Gentiles. These surely are characters of a work but little suited to the genius of such a party as the German critics imagine the Petrine party to have been. On the whole, then, I think that we seem to know nothing or next to nothing about the Petrine party in the Church at Corinth from the records of the New Testament; and that if we trust to other indications for collecting their sentiments, we shall be led to ascribe to them a very different character from that of a high Pharisaic faction; and that consequently this ingenious theory of Petrine and Pauline communities extensively established in the various churches is, like many others in the same quarter, a theory wholly destitute of foundation.

LECTURE IX.

STRUCTURE AND CONSTITUTION OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCHES.

GENTLEMEN,—Before proceeding to trace the mutual relations of the Jewish and Gentile elements of the Christian churches into those obscure and doubtful records which lie without the boundaries of the sacred canon, it will be proper for us to pause a while upon another subject well worthy of our attention, the structure and constitution of the Apostolic churches. Let us devote then the present opportunity to a consideration of what may be gathered of information upon this subject from the Acts and the Epistles.

The amount of information which any diligence or any sagacity can extract from these sources is indeed not great, and the design of giving us in them any full or accurate account of the primitive polity of the Apostolic churches seems to have formed no part of the plan of the sacred writers, or of the Blessed Spirit under whose influence they wrote, and by whose wisdom their pens were guided.

It is not my province to enter upon an inquiry into the reasons why this information was withheld, or to draw any theological inferences from so remarkable an omission. There is one point, however, in connection with it to which I may be allowed very briefly to call your attention. The omission of which I am speaking is a plain proof that the canon of the New Testament must have been very early fixed, and that the pieces which compose it were not compiled in after-times out of floating traditions of apostolic doctrine. Had they been so composed there is every reason to think that we

should never have had to complain of such an omission. Nor are we left to infer this merely from considering what it would be likely that the Church, if compiling such collections, would insert, but we have a still more direct proof in the actual existence of such a document as unbelievers suppose the New Testament to have been—I mean those remarkable pieces, the Constitutions and Canons of the Apostles. A great part of these is no doubt a mere forgery of the fourth century, but no competent critic has ever examined them carefully without arriving, as Bentley did, at the conclusion that much of them is *ab ultimâ antiquitate*. I mention Bentley in particular, not only from a due respect for his extraordinary critical sagacity, but because he notoriously and even confessedly undertook the examination of these pieces with a strong prejudice against them, as an utter fraud from beginning to end, and only made the admission to which I refer after struggling to establish a contrary foregone conclusion. These documents then, as I said, are in reality to a great extent what unbelievers suppose our New Testament Scriptures to have been—fragmentary traditions of genuine primitive antiquity wrought up and coloured over and pieced together by a later hand.¹ And if they did indeed in this respect stand on the same level with the New Testament, how comes it that such documents as these form no part of the canon of Scripture, or how comes it that the pieces which do form part of it are of a character so totally and so strikingly different?

The unbelieving theory is indeed on all sides refuted, not merely by antecedent probabilities, but by facts. We are not left to conjecture to determine what Christianity and its records would have been under the plastic influence of such causes as this theory assigns for their production. We see in the monuments of the very times to which this theory ascribes the origin of our faith and of its documents, what the real effect of such agencies actually was. We see in the

¹ As now shown by a comparison of the seventh book of the *Apostolical Constitutions* with the recently discovered *Didache of the Twelve Apostles*.

various forms of Ebionism, and in its curious literature, what shape Jewish prejudices would have given to Christianity, if it had worked it out from the data of previous Jewish expectations combined with the bare elementary historical facts of Christ's life and death. We see again in Gnosticism what a theology and what ethics Gentile prejudices would have created, because we see what these causes actually did create. And even supposing the problem solved, of how mere human causes produced the general idea of Christian faith, we see in the creeds, in the Apostolical Constitutions, and in the ceremonial disputes and hierarchical liturgy of the early Church, what a form the tradition of the apostolic teaching would have been reproduced in, if the Church itself had been left alone to reproduce it. The rule of the Church's faith and practice would not have been a few scanty occasional pieces—written as temporary circumstances called them forth by two or three of the Apostles—but precise dogmatic statements of doctrine, precise rules of church government, a regular creed, a regular liturgy, a regular model of ecclesiastical polity, issued by the united authority of the whole sacred college, as a platform for all ages and all climes. The Church would have been represented as issuing forth, like Minerva, fully armed in a panoply of ordinances from her very birth. Now this, I think, is not only not the representation given of the Church in the New Testament, but it is inconsistent with it. We see there, I think manifestly, that the outward structure of the Church was undergoing a process of gradual formation from time to time, that the frame of government was not a mould ready made into which the Church was cast, but the result of occasional measures taken as the necessities of circumstances required their adoption.

I am speaking now of such ecclesiastical arrangements as were of an ordinary and permanent character, and such I think we have to look for generally in the later times of the Apostolic ministry. Indeed our chief information with respect to them is to be gathered from the three Pastoral Epistles of Paul—those, I mean, addressed to Timothy and Titus. Nor

need we be at all surprised at this phenomenon. The churches of which we read in the earlier parts of the sacred narrative were under the immediate care of the Apostles themselves, and enjoyed the advantage of frequent personal visitation from them. Thus the care of all the churches which he had founded devolved directly upon Paul himself. Upon every pressing emergency, he gave his orders, either by letter, or by word of mouth upon the very spot; so that there was then the less need of any perfectly developed internal organisation of government. And this, by the way, appears to be the reason why so many of the ancient churches claimed Apostles as their first Bishops. The truth is that an Apostle was essentially the Bishop of any church while he resided in it; though, strictly speaking, no Apostle had any peculiar local see except James, the brother of the Lord. To him ecclesiastical antiquity has with great unanimity ascribed the local superintendence of the Church of Jerusalem: and I think that the notices of his peculiar relation to that church in the New Testament strongly confirm the testimony of the uninspired writers. His case, however, would be no exception to the general rule if, with some eminent critics, we determined that this James was not an Apostle; but I confess that my mind strongly inclines to the belief that he was. I acknowledge that some of the arguments for his Apostleship are not conclusive. When Paul, for example, says, 'Other of the Apostles saw I none, save James, the Lord's brother,' I confess that this does not necessarily imply that James was an Apostle, according to the idiom of the Greek language, though it would according to the idiom of the English. But though this passage does not imply so much by the mere force of its words, yet I think from a comparison of it with the statement of the same occurrence in the Acts, we may arrive more certainly at that inference. There it is said that Barnabas brought Paul to the Apostles; the word is in the plural, and the statement cannot be satisfied by a mere introduction to Peter. The truth, I take it, is that James and Peter were the only Apostles then at Jerusalem, the only Apostles to

whom Paul could have been just then introduced, and this will sufficiently account for Luke's saying in a general way that Barnabas brought him to the Apostles; but I feel myself unable to account for such language if James as well as Peter was not a member of the sacred college. But this matter is too unimportant for us to discuss further at present. If you wish for more information on the subject you will find it, though with some difficulty, in a long, rambling, confused, and indecisive note of Neander's at p. 5 of the second volume of his history of the Planting, &c. What led me into the discussion was the remark that the Apostles, though not fixed in any one local see, yet discharged essentially the office of a Bishop at first in every one of the churches which they had founded, and of which for some time they seem to have retained the chief administration in their own hands. But besides this very peculiar circumstance of the early Christian communities, we must remember that in other respects also, the extraordinary wants of the infant Church were supplied in an extraordinary manner, by means which were never intended to be permanent, and the analogy of which can seldom be quite safely applied to the case of bodies differently circumstanced. And indeed it is well worth remarking that the only passages in the New Testament which give anything like the semblance of an outline of church offices, anything like the regular platform of an hierarchy, such as 1 Cor. xii. 7-10, 28-30, and Ephes. iv. 11-16, are passages which speak of the extraordinary and miraculous institutions of the Apostolic churches. And it is perhaps still better worth observing here, because not so generally noticed, that the latter of these passages, Eph. iv., seems to contain a distinct intimation of the transitory nature of the frame of things to which it refers. 'He gave,' the Apostle is made to say in the Authorised Version, as it is commonly pointed, 'some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, &c.' But Bishop Stillingfleet long ago observed that this does not

adequately convey the force of the original. The Apostle's own words are: *πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων εἰς ἔργον διακονίας*, i.e. in order to fit or thoroughly equip the saints for a ministerial work, viz. for the edifying of the body of Christ.

It is therefore not of officers or functions, but of the qualifications—the miraculous qualifications—for such functions, that the Apostle is thinking, since it was these, and not the external position which fitted the saints or Christians who received them for their ministerial work; and the necessity for such an extraordinary supply is plainly traced in the succeeding verses to the weak state of the Church's childhood, composed as it was in its first formation of a half-instructed multitude of new converts, full of old Pagan or Jewish prejudices and misconceptions, and out of whom, in the ordinary course of things, no sufficient number of well-informed teachers could possibly have been selected.

From such texts as these I think it would be idle to attempt to gather any correct notion of the permanent institutions of the Apostolic churches. But while I think that, on the one hand, these passages will not bear all the weight which some ardent friends of church government lay upon them, I think on the other, that they are of real importance in serving to explain certain phenomena which have been relied on by indiscreet assertors of lay privileges to show the existence of a state of anarchy in the primitive churches which cannot, I think, be justly imputed to them. Neander, you know, goes the length of maintaining that there was originally no division in the Christian Church between clergy and laity. But I cannot find that his arguments in favour of this hypothesis have any better foundation than another hypothesis, which again, as far as I can perceive, has no foundation at all, the hypothesis that what are called *χαρίσματα* or spiritual gifts were nothing more than men's natural or acquired abilities turned in a religious direction by the ordinary influence of the Holy Ghost. Coupling this arbitrary definition with the fact that these gifted persons are represented as freely exercising

their gifts in the early churches, he arrives at the conclusion that whoever was qualified, or thought himself qualified, to address the brethren in the public assemblies might do so; whoever was qualified, or thought himself qualified, to pour forth extempore hymns or prayers might do so; and I suppose, by parity of reasoning, whoever was qualified, or thought himself qualified, to govern the brethren might do so—or at least might try. For ‘government’ is clearly treated as a *χάρισμα* quite as much as tongues or prophecy.

Now I wonder that the awkwardness of applying his principle to this latter case did not help to show him the weakness of its application in the others. But it is the less necessary for us to spend time in developing the odd consequences which would result from it, as the assumption itself is not only gratuitous but opposed to the entire tenor of Scripture. I am sure that I need not waste words in proving to you that the powers which the gifted persons exercised are treated in the New Testament as not only sanctified but conferred by the Holy Spirit, and as generally conferred too by a stated form and ceremony—the laying on of the Apostles’ hands. The case of such gifted persons therefore is in no way analogous to that of mere laymen. These gifted persons were in a special manner designated by God Himself to the exercise of certain functions; and their case seems to have as little connection, at least with the case of laymen, in the ordinary state of the Church, as it has with that of clergy in the ordinary state of the Church.

But if we look at the permanent and ordinary institutions of the Primitive Church we shall find, even in the scanty notices of them which the New Testament affords, substantial traces of a marked distinction between the clergy and the laity. We find the Apostles, wherever they gathered a church, ordaining elders; and committing the immediate government of it to them; subject however, as I before remarked, to their own general supervisal and frequent personal visitation and interference. And that these elders were not merely extraordinary officers, and that the imposition of

hands by which they were set apart was not merely, if at all, the conferring of some miraculous gift, becomes plain from the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. There these disciples of the Apostles are directed to follow Paul's own precedent by ordaining elders, and among the qualifications for the eldership miraculous gifts are neither enumerated as previous requisites, nor spoken of as to be bestowed in the act of ordination or in any other way. Hence I think we may conclude that the presbyterate was a part of the permanent and ordinary structure of the churches. And if so, it is a matter of great importance to determine the essential nature of that office.

Some, from the frequent application of such terms as 'rule' and 'govern' and 'oversee,' have concluded that it had originally reference merely to discipline; that the elders of a Christian church were merely a kind of honorary magistrates, to keep order in the public assemblies, to terminate disputes by arbitration, and to reprove those who acted in a manner unworthy of their Christian profession. But to confine the elder's office to such points as these seems to me inconsistent with many plain passages. It seems to me that 'teaching' is plainly covered by the term 'ruling' when used in this connection, and that even in places where it has been supposed to be expressly distinguished from it. 'Let the elders,' says Paul, 'who rule well, be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word of God and doctrine' (1 Tim. v. 17). To me the plain meaning of this direction seems to be that special regard should be had to the laborious discharge of that part of an elder's rule or presidency which consisted in the ministry of the word. The term in the original is *προεστῶτες—οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτερου*—and I need not tell you that it is a very large term, commonly applied to the discharge of almost any function which involved a certain distinction in the performer from others. While the text then plainly indicates that the elders had other duties to perform besides teaching, it equally implies, I think, that teaching was part of their *προστασία*, a

portion of their eminent function, and also the most honourable part of it. So also in the Epistle to the Hebrews, xiii. 7, 'Remember your rulers (τῶν ἡγουμένων) who have spoken unto you the word of the Lord.' So in 1 Tim. iii. 2, it is required that a presbyter should be διδακτικός—i.e. both capable of and disposed towards teaching; and in the Epistle to Titus, i. 9, we have the still more explicit statement that a presbyter should hold firmly by the faithful word according to the apostolic teaching, that he may be able both to give exhortation in sound doctrine, and to convince gainsayers. In a Christian community, indeed, of which the whole basis was religious, the elders would, although copied in name and to some extent in general idea, from the synagogue, assume a different character from the Jewish seniors. The Christian Church was not, like the Jewish, a civil society. It had no municipal officers; its magistrates were merely religious magistrates. And if their 'rule' did not extend to the office of instruction, it must have had a very small province indeed. And when we see the manifest anxiety under which the Apostles laboured for the preservation of sound doctrine among the people, and the manifest and foreseen danger of corruption which threatened it, it seems to require something like extreme credulity to believe that the duty of perpetuating and guarding it was not one of the special duties imposed on those to whom they committed the oversight of a church.²

² This Lecture seems to end rather abruptly, and leaves much unfold that we may be sure was not overlooked. This is the more evident because in one of the lectures in the succeeding course, there is a reference to matters that would have had their proper place here. We may feel assured that the subject was pursued extemporaneously. Some cause must have hindered the completion of the Lecture in writing. Nothing has been found amongst the Bishop's papers to supply the deficiency. In the Lecture of the next series where the reference above mentioned occurs, the matter for which the reference was made seems to be sufficiently repeated for the purpose then in view. It was the Bishop's habit at times to lecture without MS.—EDITORS.

SECOND COURSE

The Early Church

LECTURE I.

SCANTINESS OF INFORMATION REGARDING THE
PERIOD NEXT AFTER THE APOSTLES.

GENTLEMEN,—We were occupied during the last term with a review of the history of the Apostolic age, and were engaged in tracing the gradual development of the Church from the form which it wore at first, of a mere school in the Jewish community, into that great Catholic society which knows no distinction between Jew and Gentile, and embraces equally, and on the same terms, ‘all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues’ over the face of the whole earth.

That great event with which the Apostolic period may, for practical purposes, be considered as closing—the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus—no doubt contributed greatly to secure to the Christian Church this genuine Catholic character; while at the same time it deprived it for a space of that power of combined action which enabled it, during other periods, to play so conspicuous a part upon the stage of the world’s theatre.

Let me explain somewhat more particularly what I mean by these two statements.

When we speak of the Church as a *catholic* society, the term Catholic is, without some further explanation, ambiguous; and two persons holding really opposite sentiments may continue for a long time to talk so exactly in the same words as completely to conceal the difference of their opinions.

In general, any religion may be described as ‘Catholic’ which aims at universal reception; and in this sense Catholicity is so essential to Christianity that it belongs to it in

every form which it has ever worn. There is not, and never has been, any difference at all among professing Christians upon this point. And not only has there never been any such difference among professing Christians, but it is worth remarking that almost every religion which has sprung up since Christianity, and in countries where Christianity was known, has assumed this pervasive character. This may be considered as one of the many great collateral effects which Christianity has produced in the world, even beyond the limits of its directer influence; and the religious history of mankind since the preaching of the gospel exhibits in this, as in many other respects, a contrast to the aspect which it presented before that wonderful epoch.

Mahometanism and Buddhism are not, like the merely local superstitions of ancient paganism, the rites peculiar to some particular family, or tribe, or nation, but extend over whole races of men, and stretch their gigantic arms from kingdom to kingdom to seize distant and mutually independent states in the grasp of their religious institutions. Mahometanism—making allowance for some minor sectarian differences not as great as those which distract Christendom—is one and the same religious system in the territory of the Great Turk, among the tribes of Arabia and of Tartary, in Persia and in Egypt—wherever the faith of Islam has penetrated, from the banks of the Danube to the shores of the Yellow Sea, and from the fastnesses of Bokhara to the inmost recesses of Central Africa. And so of Buddhism; with the same allowance for minor differences, it is unmistakeably one and the same religion in Hindostan and Burmah, in Ceylon and Thibet, among the fierce hordes of the Mongol Tartars, and over the well-cultivated surface of the immense territory of China.

Catholicity, then, in this sense of the word, is not even peculiar to Christianity [which in this was perhaps anticipated by Buddhism]. Still less does it afford any mark of distinction between professing Christians themselves. But if we consider more attentively the instances of extra-Christian

religious systems to which I have referred, we shall find, I think, something to help us to that which we are in search of.

Vast, then, as has been the diffusion of the Mahometan and Buddhist religions, no one, I suppose, in Europe can doubt that there are insuperable barriers to their universal reception. The truth is that, though not so narrowly local as the older forms of paganism, they carry in them nevertheless the inherent vice of those older forms. The type of that peculiar stage of civilisation which we call the Oriental character is indelibly imprinted upon their creed and institutions; and they could not be received in any region of a different character without a total change of national manners and modes of thought.

It is the peculiar privilege of Christianity, in its native simplicity, that it is not encumbered with any such difficulties, but possesses an elastic power of adapting itself to the various distinctions by which the great family of man is parcelled out.

It is this peculiar *catholic* character of Christianity which is much obscured whenever that religion has been connected with any fixed local centre upon which all Christian communities are supposed to depend. With such a centre it is almost unavoidable that the particular form which Christianity wears in that centre should be considered as its type. The institutions of the central Church will be in such a case inevitably regarded as the mould in which all others are to be cast; and an effort will always be made—and even though checked repeatedly, repeatedly renewed—to extend that type universally, and obliterate every distinction at variance with that model. Thus Latin Christianity has become Roman. It is a grand attempt to stamp all nations with the Roman brand, and produce a general uniformity by superinducing upon all Christians the institutions of that particular Church. Hence we see at once why the Latin system has never gained any firm or permanent hold where a national character adverse to the Latin type has been developed.

No doubt a foresight of the evils which would attend on

such a centre was one of the reasons for which Providence ordained the destruction of Jerusalem. While that city stood, the Church there formed a sort of local centre to the early churches, with far higher claims than Rome could reasonably pretend to. It was, in reality—what the Church of Rome so falsely and so absurdly calls herself—the mother of all churches, to which all the lines of spiritual descent in other places converged, and in which they met. Jerusalem was the seat of the original Apostles. It was the place in which our Lord's own ministry had closed, and in which the presence of the Comforter had been first manifested, and it was the golden link of connection between the old and the new dispensations.

With such advantages as these, it is not wonderful that the Church of Jerusalem should have exercised great influence over the whole circle of the Christian community, and there certainly was no small danger that, especially after the guiding hand of the inspired Apostles was withdrawn from this central wheel as it were of the ecclesiastical machine, its movements might have been highly prejudicial to all that depended on it. There was manifest danger that the national peculiarities of the Church of Jerusalem might be impressed upon Christianity itself, and a character thus given to the religion which would render it unsuitable to discharge its important function of blending freely with the institutions of all nations and all climes and all ages, in which the true secret of its real strength and permanence lies.

The almost synchronous events of the removal of the Apostles, and the disruption of the Jewish polity, seem thus to have been so arranged by Providence that the latter to some extent compensated for the former. And just at the time when the Judaizing tendency of the Church of Jerusalem was likely to do most mischief, the Roman arms drove it from its metropolis and violently broke up the associations of local dignity to which it owed its influence.

By these events, however, as I said, the churches were for a certain space deprived of the means of combined action. That central tie of a common government, or at least a common

point of contact, which had been supplied by the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem, was taken from them, and nothing of the same sort substituted in its room. Thus each separate Christian community was thrown upon its own resources for the conservation of the apostolic faith and the working out of such institutions of church order as might suit its own case. Over this period of transition, which immediately succeeds upon the era properly called apostolic, great obscurity hangs. I shall endeavour presently to assign some reasons for that obscurity. But what I wish to remark at present is that the fact of such obscurity, combined with all the antecedent probabilities of the case, and the little that we do know of the history of that interval, seems to make it certain that no great piece of combined action on the part of the whole Church in its federative capacity can have taken place during it. Such an event could not have occurred without impressing some permanent record of its occurrence upon the annals of the time. And therefore, when in the middle of the next century the mist begins to clear off, and shows us the spectacle of the churches diffused over the whole surface of the Roman Empire, and beyond it, acknowledging everywhere the same essential articles of faith—tracing their religion to the same persons, founding their faith upon the same miraculous facts, appealing unanimously to the same documents as the well-attested records of their founders' teaching—and practising the same external rites as delivered down to them by those founders, this is very strong and convincing evidence that such a uniform system of belief and practice could not have originated in that short, dark interval. There was in that interval no common authority which could have fixed these things for all the churches diffused over so wide a surface. If there were, whence did it come and whither did it go, that its rise should have been preceded by no indications, and its departure should have taken place without leaving a vestige behind? It is surely incredible that any such universal empire as this should, like Jonah's gourd, spring up in a night and vanish with the day. But if there was none, then it is plain that the unanimity which meets our view in the second

century was the result of the independent testimony of the several churches, each preserving for itself, by diligent inquiry and examination, the records of the apostolic teaching. It is the uncoerced testimony of a multitude of independent separate witnesses to the same truth.

And this you will observe is far more important than any consent produced by the mere influence of a central authority. If, for example, a canon of the New Testament, such as we find generally admitted in the latter part of the second century, had been fixed towards the close of the first by a General Council, this would have worn, in the eyes of inconsiderate spectators, a more imposing aspect than the actual phenomena present. But to all right-judging men it would be a less satisfactory kind of evidence. The decision of a Council is, after all, only the decision of the majority there assembled, and in the case of such assemblies there is too often reason to suspect, from the very circumstance of their combined action, that seeming agreement may be obtained by compromises and mutual concessions. But when a number of scattered communities, without mutual concert, each acting independently of the other, are found to agree in recognising the same books as genuine and authentic, in a matter in which they are deeply interested, and as soon as, all things considered, the genuineness and authenticity of those writings could be clearly and genuinely ascertained, this seems as good evidence of the facts as the nature of human affairs will allow of.

But whence, it may be asked, the obscurity which confessedly hangs over the history of that interval in question, extending from the close of Paul's ministry to about the middle of the second century? I cannot pretend wholly to dissipate this difficulty, but I shall perhaps be able to remove some part of it by the following remarks:—

In the first place then we must remember that the Sun of Inspiration sets in blood. The light of the Scripture-narrative forsakes us just as the Neronian persecution begins. And though it has been questioned how far this was a general persecution, I think that the doubts entertained upon that

subject arise partly from the ambiguity of the term 'general persecution,' and partly from want of sufficiently considering the circumstances of the case. If by a 'general persecution' be meant a systematic attempt, like that of Diocletian, to search after and extirpate the Christians through the whole extent of the Roman Empire. . . .¹

¹ This Lecture unhappily breaks off abruptly in the MS. as above. Owing to whatever cause, there is evidence that nothing more was ever written. First, the unfinished paragraph above breaks off in the middle of the first of two leaves of a folded sheet, leaving the remainder of that and the next leaf blank. And in the second place, on the outside of the latter are jotted down the successive points on which the writer intended to dwell, beginning with the subject in which the MS. abruptly ends, viz. 'Persa.' We may suppose that some pressing avocation obliged him to cease writing, and that these heads of discourse were jotted down as a guide for the extemporaneous exposition of the sequel. The perusal of these, which are subjoined, will show the line of thought pursued in a manner sufficiently suggestive, but such as to make us the more lament that the Lecture was not written in full. In giving this sketch, some words are introduced in brackets for the sake of clearness:—

'Persa.' [Persecution.]

'Tran.' [Transition.] 'Shaking right. Middle ages Corp^{ra}' [Plainly a comparison with the way in which the mediæval corporations came to assume a settled form.]

'Disturbances in churches—Consolidat^o of Pastoral power.'

'Ep. of Clem[ent] ill-[ustrates] both external and internal.'

'Immediate successors of great men' [plainly, overshadowed.]

'Authentic docu[ments] eclipsed [those] less so. Boswell.'

'Latter [viz., less so] got into hands of heretics—*Romances*.' [These plainly, the simpler forms of such writings as the Clementines, the story of Thecla, and the Apocryphal Gospels.]

'Comparison of Churches. Heges[ippus], Melito.'

'Apost[olical] Conons' [Constitutions.]

'Character of Teachers.'

'Cut out by the authors of 2 and 3 centuries.'

'Loss of writings of Papias—Hegesipp, &c. Tide turned ag^t Millenary opinions.'

'Want of schools.'

'Writers of next centuries produced by schools.'

Any reader who would take pains by his own thought, and reference to books, to follow up this suggested programme, with a general idea of the Bishop's style and manner of treatment, might in some manner present to himself the Lecture as it was delivered in full. The reference to Boswell seems to have been intended to illustrate how authentic documents overshadow those that are less so, just as Boswell's *Johnson* superseded all other attempts to describe the great lexicographer, and threw into almost entire neglect the biographies written by others.—EDITORS.

LECTURE II.

THE APOSTOLICAL FATHERS.

GENTLEMEN,—In my last lecture I endeavoured to give some explanation of a phenomenon which is apt to strike the student of Ecclesiastical history with some surprise—I mean the extreme scantiness of the remaining relics of that important interval which elapsed from the close of the canon of the New Testament to a date near the middle of the second century.

In the course of the remarks which I made in reference to that subject, I observed that the writers who flourished in that interval stood in the peculiarly disadvantageous position of being overshadowed at once by their immediate predecessors and by their immediate successors. Compared with their immediate predecessors indeed—that is with the inspired authors of the New Testament—the Doctors of any succeeding age in the Church's annals must have greatly suffered in the contrast. But in order, perhaps, to mark still more strongly that the power with which the first heralds of Christianity published its mysteries was not their own, but 'the Spirit' of their heavenly Father 'speaking in them,' the Providence of God seems so to have ordered matters that the ecclesiastical writers contemporary with the Apostles are almost of all others the most conspicuously unable of themselves to produce such a literature as we find in the pages of the sacred canon.

'The first preachers of the gospel,' says Bishop Warburton, in the admirable Introduction to his 'Julian'—a work which I would earnestly recommend you not only to read,

but to study—‘the first preachers of the gospel were the inspired messengers of the word. They committed its dictates to writing; and with that purity, and consequently with that splendour, in which they drew from the fount of truth. Their immediate followers, whom we call the Apostolic Fathers, received at their hands the doctrine of life in all the simplicity of understanding as well as heart. It cannot be said their writings do much honour to the rational sublimity of sacred truth, but then they do not violate its integrity. For false philosophy had not yet made havoc of the faith, though it was then beginning to work. If in their writings we see but little of that manly elegance of reason which makes the Scriptures so truly respectable, it must be allowed however, there is as little of those adulterate ornaments which their successors brought from the brothels of philosophy to adorn the sanctity of religion; and let me add further, that though the early prospect of things may not be in all respects what one could wish, yet there is one circumstance which does great credit to our holy faith. It is this—that as the integrity and dignity of its simple and perfect nature refused all fellowship with the adulterate arts of Grecian learning, so the admirable display of divine wisdom in disposing the parts and conducting the course of the grand system of Redemption was not to be tolerably apprehended but by an improved and well-disciplined understanding. Both these qualities suited the nobility of its original. It could bear no communion with error, and was as little fitted to consort with ignorance.’

The honest and outspoken bluntness of this great prelate’s judgment of writers, who stood as it were within the very halo of a miraculous dispensation, gave some scandal to the admirers of antiquity in his time, and the repetition of it will possibly displease their successors in our own. But it may be worth observing that the peculiar sensitiveness which would exempt the early Doctors of the Church from all unfavourable criticism is itself an innovation. The Fathers themselves do not seem to have laboured under any such excessive

delicacy. Eusebius, for example, seems not to have been deterred by any peculiar awe from passing judgment as freely upon the productions of the Apostolic age as upon those of the succeeding centuries. His language, in particular with regard to Papias, the Bishop of Hierapolis, and the associate of the personal friends of the Apostles, is still more blunt—it is absolutely contemptuous¹—than that of Warburton. And at a later period Photius, the great ecclesiastical critic, seems even to single out the earliest Fathers as subjects of peculiarly severe criticism.²

If anyone differs from the judgment on the merits of the Apostolic Fathers, which I have adopted from Warburton, on the same grounds as any other question of literary merit would be tried, however I may doubt his critical powers, I shall be always ready to confess that he puts the debate on a perfectly fair issue. If anyone contends that the writings of these venerable persons do contain marks of commanding genius, considerable powers of reasoning, great skill in the interpretation of Scripture, deep thought, profound learning, persuasive eloquence, or any other indication of high literary merit, and proceeds to assign those indications upon which he rests his cause, I shall at once acknowledge that he is arguing the question as it ought to be argued; and I am quite ready to leave the decision of it, upon an examination of the proper evidence, to the world. But it is not fair to stifle evidence by declamation, which, when stripped of figurative embellish-

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39: 'He appears to have been a man of very small intelligence (σφόδρα σμικρὸς ὦν τὸν νοῦν), as far as one can judge from his own discourses.'—EDITORS.

² Thus, for instance, speaking of the first Epistle of Clement of Rome, while he describes Clement as 'simple and clear in his manner of expression, and approaching the ecclesiastic and artless style,' he says he is to be censured in three particulars, namely, that he supposes that other worlds exist beyond the ocean, he uses the example of the Phoenix as if the story respecting that bird was an absolute verity, and having called our Lord Jesus Christ our high priest and president, he has uttered none of the loftier sayings more suitable to his divine nature; not, however, that he anywhere openly blasphemes in this respect. The reader will see that this is very stinging praise. The testimonies of Photius may be found prefixed to various editions of the ecclesiastical writers.—EDITORS.

ments and passionate outcries, amounts to little more than this—that, whatever be the evidence of facts, we must always speak of these Fathers as good writers because they *are* Fathers—i.e. because they have been dead and buried so many centuries ago. If mere lapse of time is to be allowed this canonising effect, it is a consolatory rule for the dulness of all ages. Let us only have patience, gentlemen, and after many days some stray copy of our now despised lucubrations may turn up in a trunkmaker's or a grocer's shop, and we too shall be similarly safe from criticism and take our place as Fathers of the Church.

But if men are to be debarred from perceiving or owning the defects of the ancient ecclesiastical writers, they should, I think, be equally debarred from perceiving or pointing out their merits. He who pretends to discover in an ancient writer great literary excellence must surely suppose himself able to recognise the want of it, should such a want exist. And therefore the encomiasts of antiquity do really quite as much place themselves in the critical chair—do really quite as much sit in judgment on the authors they commend—as those who venture to censure these authors when they think they perceive that censure is due; unless, indeed, the laudations bestowed upon the Fathers of the Church are to be deprived of all real value, and considered as mere words of course, like the high-sounding complimentary phrases in which we speak of the best and the worst of princes indiscriminately as ‘most religious and gracious sovereigns.’

On the whole, then, I am not ashamed to own my opinion that the writings of the Apostolic Fathers have very little more than the great historic value which their antiquity gives them to make them peculiarly worth preserving; and if they are to be taken as fair samples of the Christian literature of that interval, I am not surprised that so much of it has been smothered between the works of their inspired predecessors and their accomplished successors.

In the number of the Apostolic Fathers are commonly counted, Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Ignatius, Barnabas, and

Hermas. But Hermas, or more properly Hermes, is now, I think, pretty certainly proved to belong to a later period. An ancient writer, supposed to be the Presbyter Caius, a fragment of whom was discovered by Muratori, distinctly confirms the long-suspected statement of the Roman Liber Pontificalis, and identifies him with the Hermes who was brother to Pope Pius I., in the second century.³

Of Clement, one Epistle is undoubtedly genuine, but the circumstances connected with it strongly confirm what we have been observing with respect to Apostolic Fathers generally. As far as we know, but one MS. of that Epistle is now extant.⁴ It was long supposed to have perished entirely, but in the reign of Charles I. the unfortunate Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyril Lucar, presented the unfortunate King of England with that celebrated copy of the Greek Scriptures which goes by the name of the Alexandrian MS., and is still preserved in the British Museum. In this MS., at the end of the Books of the New Testament was found, but in a sadly lacerated condition, the long missing first Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and a fragment of a second Epistle, likewise attributed to him, but I think incorrectly. For Eusebius tells us that he could find no ancient testimony in its favour, and Jerome assures us that in his time it was generally rejected. How far even the first Epistle as it now stands is throughout the genuine work of Clement, is a question not absolutely determined. Many learned men have thought that certain parts of it are interpolations; and although I am not convinced that they have made out a satisfactory case, yet I do not think that, in expressing their suspicions, they

³ Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Româ Herma conscripsit, sedente cathedrâ urbis Romæ ecclesiæ Pio episcopo, fratre ejus. Et ideo legi eum quidem oportet, sed publicare vero in Ecclesiâ populo, neque inter prophetas completum numero, neque inter Apostolos in finem temporis potest. Galland. *Bibl. Vet. Patrum*, tom. ii. p. 208. Apud *Proleg. Pat. Apost.* ed. Hefele.—EDITORS.

⁴ The reader will remember that this was written long before the recent discovery by Archbishop Bryennius of the entire text of Clement's Epistles, both genuine and supposititious, in the now famous Jerusalem MS. deposited in the Phanar Library in Constantinople.—EDITORS.

are guilty of such egregious audacity as is sometimes imputed to them.

Where the MSS. of an old writing are numerous and respectable there is little room for critical conjecture, because one independent copy is a check upon another; and thus the immense multitude of MSS. and ancient citations of the Books of the New Testament for example, and in a lesser degree of several classic authors, indefinitely removes the possibility of material error or falsification in the text which is the result of a comparison of them. Thus that enormous collection of various readings which has frightened weak heads from the days of Whitby to those of Dr. Nolan,⁵ attesting as it does the number and the independence of the copies from which it is drawn, is in reality our great security for the substantial correctness of the general text of the sacred writings. In such a case nothing short of a moral demonstration in the shape of internal evidence should be allowed to set aside the external testimony. But the case is very different when we are trusting to a single copy, especially in the work of a writer like Clement, whom literary impostors appear to have very soon begun to consider as given to them for a prey. For, indeed, the number of spurious pieces attributed to this Father is remarkable. Besides the spurious second Epistle, a fragment of which is preserved as his in the very Codex whose authority is treated by some critics as infallible, there are extant in Syriac two other Epistles ascribed to him also, but which are also undoubtedly spurious, though Wetstein, in a paradoxical humour, once took it into his head to maintain their genuineness. They are discourses upon Virginity, and were composed probably in the third century. They do not claim in the body of them to be composed by Clement, and it is not improbable that the prefixing of his name to them was a fraud rather of the bookseller than of the author.

But the same apology cannot be made for other pieces ascribed to Clement, as for example, the Homilies and Recog-

⁵ See Preface to his *Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate or Received Text of the New Testament*.—EDITORS.

nitions to which I have before more than once referred, and the Apostolic Canons and Constitutions.

The truth seems to be that, from the scantiness and poverty of the uninspired literary remains of the Apostolic age, the booksellers and bookmakers of the third and fourth centuries began to think that there were a great number of excellent names going to waste. Here, they seem to have thought, on one side are a number of very good names of venerable writers, with very few and rather insignificant writings; and here, on the other hand, are many very clever writings without the necessary commodity of good names to recommend them. What more natural than to make an exchange so desirable for both parties? Let the venerable Doctors of antiquity have the credit of our ingenious modern productions, and let the ingenious men of modern times have the advantage of recommending their useful notions under the patronage of those venerable names. Thus the ancients will be highly honoured, the present Church vastly benefited, and, though last not least, a brisk trade driven in these new-old literary wares.

These remarks derive additional illustration and confirmation from the literary history of the writings of Ignatius, another of the Apostolic Fathers.

For a long time the only text of these known to the learned world was that contained in what are called 'The Long Epistles of Ignatius.' But these Long Epistles contained so many indications of a later age than that of the author whom they claimed, that all discerning critics agreed in regarding them as either wholly spurious or grossly interpolated. After some time, however, in 1646, Isaac Vossius discovered in a MS. at Florence a much shorter text of several of these Epistles, the readings of which were further confirmed by MSS. of Latin versions already brought to light by Archbishop Ussher. This text it was that Bishop Pearson undertook to defend in his immortal work, the '*Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*,' and though he was answered with much learning and acuteness by Larroque, in a book now unfortunately excessively scarce, but

which so good a scholar as Dr. Parr thought decisive, his arguments prevailed pretty generally, and especially in Episcopalian churches. Indeed, Mosheim fairly confesses that they would probably have prevailed everywhere if it had not been necessary for the strict Presbyterians to make out a case against these Epistles of Ignatius, so decisive are they in favour of the existence of episcopacy in the Apostolic age.

With this shorter text, then, we in England and Ireland were generally pretty well content, until, a short while ago, a still shorter one was discovered in some Syriac MSS. in a monastery in the desert of Nitria, the publication of which by Mr. Cureton has excited an angry controversy that is not likely soon to reach an end, and will probably outlast the Russian war, and perhaps the existence of the Ottoman empire.⁶ Indeed, I think it not at all improbable that we shall soon hear tidings of a fourth text of these marvellous Epistles, for I think I can clearly perceive from the fragments which Mr. Cureton has given from the writings of Severus, Timotheus, and others, that there must have been a somewhat different text from any of the three now known at one time in existence.

Severus, for example, cites Ignatius as saying, in the Epistle to the Magnesians—‘There is one God, who manifested Himself through Jesus Christ His Son, who is His Word, who proceeded from Silence.’ Now in the Florentine text the passage runs thus: *ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος αἰδῖος οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθὼν*, i.e. ‘Who is his *eternal* Word, *not* proceeding from Silence.’ Severus’ text, therefore, must have had *λόγος ἴδιος* instead of *λ. αἰδῖος* and must have omitted the *οὐκ*. And it is curious to observe that the former of these alterations was conjectured by a great conjecture-monger, the younger Crellius, a Socinian writer, in a wild book published by him in the last century, and in which he proposed to get rid of St. John’s testimony to the Deity of Christ by a conjectural emendation.

Now though, as we have said, a number of independent MSS. of substantially the same text is a great advantage, yet

⁶ Written in 1854.—EDITORS.

three or four totally different texts of professedly the same book is rather too much of a good thing; especially considering that, between the two shorter ones, it is much easier to see that both are brought into some doubt, than to determine which is preferable to the other. The critic might well be happy with either, but with two such nearly balanced competitors for his favour, he is strongly tempted to withhold it from them both.

Mr. Cureton, with the natural zeal of an editor, argues strongly for the perfect purity of the Syriac text. It is, as I said, shorter in every way than either of the Greek recensions. In the first place it contains but three Epistles—those to Polycarp, the Ephesians, and the Romans; and it does not, like the Florentine MS., join confessedly spurious documents along with such as have respectable claims to genuineness. Then the text is characterised by omitting the very passages, or most of them, which seemed suspicious in the Florentine MS. While retaining sufficiently strong testimonies to the Deity of Christ, and to the dignity of the episcopal office, to show that the scribe was not an enemy to either, it does not display that laboured anxiety to accumulate high-sounding statements of them, which had been remarked in the Greek; and Mr. Cureton observes very acutely that the first author who cites anything as from Ignatius not found in the three Syriac Epistles, is Athanasius, in a letter 360, i.e. twenty-five years after the Council of Nice. This was not only in the heat of the Arian controversy, but the time also when the question as to the jurisdiction of Bishops began to be stirred by the founder of Presbyterianism, Aerius of Pontus. Hence he conjectures that the Florentine MS. represents a text partly forged and partly interpolated, for the purpose of more completely refuting the two heresies of Arianism and Aerianism. And if so, it is curious to observe that one of these heresies at least paid back the orthodox in their own coin. For there can be no reasonable doubt that the Longer Epistles, as they are called, were interpolated by an Arian hand. The main points of Mr. Cureton's arguments are thus strongly recapitulated by him-

self, and from them you will perceive that his arguments have great force.

'First, although there be no direct proof, there is a strong probability that Ignatius' Epistles were translated into Syriac at a very early period, before corruptions had made their way into the text. Secondly, the MSS. in which this translation is found are very ancient, and were written several centuries before any of the Greek or Latin copies now in existence. Thirdly, all the evidence which has ever been brought forward, either from direct citations or allusions made to him by any author for the first two centuries after his death, apply especially to these three Epistles, and to these only; and fourthly, they do not contain those passages found in the Greek and Latin copies which, according to the judgment of several learned and able critics, could not have been written by that Apostolic Father, because they bear upon themselves the stamp of facts and opinions which belong to a later period. So that had any person, after the discussions of the Ignatian controversy towards the close of the seventeenth century, been anxious to remodel the text according to the best arguments which had been advanced on both sides, by removing such passages as sound criticism on the one part pronounced to be spurious, and retaining those which learned research on the other upheld to be genuine, he could hardly have failed to reduce these Epistles into nearly the same form as they are found in the Syriac version, transcribed about a thousand years before the controversy began, and now first brought to light, more than a century and a half after it had ceased.'

These reasons are doubtless of great weight. But there are nevertheless some things which make me hesitate. That Ignatius actually wrote more letters than the three which the Syriac recension preserves, we know on unquestionable authority—in particular a letter to the church of Tralles which is distinctly alluded to by Eusebius, whose allusion (though he does not quote any sentence out of it) agrees exactly with the Epistle to the Trallesians now extant in the Florentine MS.⁷

⁷ *Ecel. Hist.* iii. 36, 5.

Then the references made by later authors are not, I think, to be so wholly disregarded as Mr. Cureton seems practically to think; and what weighs with me perhaps most of all, is that I find it hard to believe that a forger should have so well imitated the very peculiar style of Ignatius in those Epistles of the shorter copy which Mr. Cureton condemns as spurious, but which are certainly of one and the same character of style as those which he admits to be genuine, and quite dissimilar from those which are universally exploded. That style is, as I said, quite peculiar, and agrees very remarkably with what might be expected from a warm Oriental, not trained in the rules of artificial composition, writing in the near prospect of martyrdom, when his feelings were excited with an ardent enthusiastic zeal, and his whole mind pervaded by strong and agitating emotions, under the influence of which new ideas were suggested every moment with such rapidity, and the thoughts hurried so swiftly from one subject to another, as must needs impart an abruptness to his style and a confused obscurity to his expressions. I remember that once myself, when I was young and inexperienced, and therefore apt to make hypotheses, I had a strong suspicion that the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans was the only genuine one, and that it suggested the forgery of all the rest. But I soon felt that if one were admitted, the unaffected identity of style would secure all the rest; and I feel now the same difficulty in the way of an hypothesis which admits only three.

But if it be granted that the Syriac editor had extant before him seven Epistles of Ignatius, and that out of these he chose only three for copying, this admission will allow the patrons of the Greek Short Epistles to take one step, and that a most important one, towards improving their position and rescuing themselves from Mr. Cureton's artillery. It will show plainly that the scribe was, for some reason or other, studious of brevity, and had either no space or no time for making a complete copy. And if it be once granted that he shortened his work by leaving out four whole Epistles, they will contend that it is not unreasonable to suppose further that he made it

shorter still by abridging the remainder. Such abridgments are not, to be sure, very common in the MSS. of important ecclesiastical documents. Interpolations and paraphrases are the more usual phenomena. Still they are not wholly unprecedented; and in profane literature there are many instances. The epitome of Athenæus is one remarkable one; and you know that the loss of many books of Livy is supposed to have been occasioned by the epitomes having been substituted for them by hasty readers, who loved better to gather up the facts quickly than to dwell upon the graces and embellishments of an eloquently told narrative. Nor, as I said, is ecclesiastical literature without its examples, among which it may not be necessary to name more than the epitome of Lactantius' 'Institutiones.' These cases are not, indeed, precisely cases in point. There is a very important difference between them and the one before us. They are instances of epitomes of long treatises, whereas Ignatius' Epistles, even in the largest recension, are but short pieces, and one would expect that a pious purchaser would not be willing to 'lose one drop of that immortal man,' especially when the whole of his remains could be so easily contained in a small volume. But then there are a thousand accidents that may have interfered with these pious wishes. The parchment may have come short, or the writer may have been pressed for time. Though still, if these Syriac Epistles be an abridgment, they must be allowed to be an abridgment made with unusual good taste and sagacity, since they omit just the parts that one would wish away, and do this so as rather to improve than injure the connection of the rest.

On the whole, then, I think it must be allowed that great obscurity hangs over the whole question, but the balance turns rather in favour of the Syriac text. But the fact that this genuine text, if it be genuine, has only now been discovered through the medium of a Syriac translation, and that two other texts of these Epistles, and of a multitude of other Epistles falsely ascribed to the same author, have so long been current, illustrates, I think, and confirms remarkably

been neither trick nor guess. For surely there were many others in the Church of that name, besides the Apostle.¹

The ancients generally make the Mark who was the first Bishop of Alexandria, the same with that John Mark who was sister's son to Barnabas, and pretend that he was ordained by that Apostle, whom the Greek (chiefly Alexandrian) authorities cited by Dr. Cave in his 'Apostolici,' affirm to have come to Alexandria immediately on his departure from Rome. So important, indeed, was this thought, that the forger (an Alexandrian too) of the Recognitions of Clement was pleased to invent a very full and particular account of his arrival in that city. For we must remember that as the pagan nations were

¹ It is to be remembered that this lecture was delivered long before the recent discovery of the *Didache of the Twelve Apostles*, by Abp. Bryennius, in the famous Jerusalem MS., which contains also the full text of the two Clementine Epistles, and the entire Greek text of the Barnabas Epistle. The *Didache* contains 'The Two Ways' embodied in the Epistle, and is itself the basis of the Seventh Book of the Apostolical Constitutions. Abp. Bryennius supposes that the *Didache* stands between these two documents, having copied from the Epistle, and being itself drafted into the Apostolical Constitutions. But the learned are not yet agreed as to the relation between the *Didache* and the Barnabas Epistle. It is a question which is entitled to the priority, or whether both have not embodied an already existing document known as 'The Two Ways.' The MS. of this Lecture breaks off rather abruptly here. We have observed in preparing these Lectures for the press, that it was the Bishop's habit to avail himself of portions of his other writings which answered his purpose, and to transfer passages from these to subsequent uses. We feel convinced, from the incompleteness of the notice of the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas in this Lecture, so far, and from the repetition of the suspicion of a bookseller's trick in what follows as now printed, that he read this latter part from an earlier writing on the Epistle of Barnabas. In that writing, printed in the *British Magazine*, vol. xiii., 1838, he maintains with great acuteness and large resources of reading, that the writer of the Epistle was a Jew, thoroughly acquainted with the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament, and familiar with the mystical exegesis of Scripture proper to Philo and the Alexandrian school. He shows that it was first quoted and commended by Alexandrian writers, and that the supposition that it was an Alexandrian forgery accounts for its being ascribed to St. Barnabas. The earlier discussion of these particulars is conducted in a manner quite foreign to that pursued in these Lectures. The latter part of it, which we have transcribed, we feel convinced, for the reasons we have assigned, was read as the completion of the Lecture, which would otherwise be manifestly incomplete. The note next preceding this is extracted from the same paper.—EDITORS.

always ready (as Livy tells us), 'consecrare origines suas, et ad Deos referre auctores,' so the Christian churches prided themselves upon being reputed of apostolical foundation; and hence it was (as the learned have observed) that any Apostle who so much as visited any of them was presently set down in their catalogue of Bishops; so that sometimes (as we may see in Valesius' note on Euseb. 'H.E.' iii. 21) the episcopal see is filled (with a witness) by two prelates at a time. This interest, then, which the Christians of Alexandria felt in St. Barnabas may have given occasion to the ascribing to him what was looked on as so philosophical and mysterious a work; since it doubtless seemed very desirable that the founder of a church in so literary a place should himself enjoy some literary reputation. 'This,' says Casaubon, 'vehemently moves me, that I see in the first times of the Church how many there were who thought it a palmary deed that heavenly truth should be aided by their own figments, in order forsooth that the new teaching might be admitted by the wise men of the nations. These falsehoods they called dutiful, excogitated with a good end; from which fountain, without doubt, sprung six hundred books, which that and the next age saw published by men not at all bad (for we speak not of the books of heretics), under the name even of the Lord Jesus and of the Apostles and other saints.' —*Excerc.* 1, N. x. in Baroni, *App. in Annales*. Not that I would absolutely determine that the person who originally wrote this Epistle intended to pass it off as St. Barnabas's, any more than Novatian made his treatise *De Trinitate* for the purpose of imposing it on the world as Tertullian's. It is very probable that it was afterwards ascribed to him by Alexandrian booksellers, because they thought that they would make more of it when vended under this name than any other. (See S. Hieronymi *Apol.* ii. c. Ruffin. t. ii. p. 322 c.)

Dr. Bentley, in his 'Dissertation on Phalaris,' has opened some of the reasons which made literary frauds so frequent at Alexandria. 'To forge and counterfeit books,' says that illustrious critic, 'and father them upon great names, has been a practice almost as old as letters. But it was then most of all in fashion when the kings of Pergamus and Alex-

andria, rivalling one another in the magnificence and copiousness of their libraries, gave great rates for any treatises that carried the names of celebrated authors, which was an invitation to the scribes and copiers of those times to enhance the price of their wares by ascribing them to men of fame and reputation,' &c. (Introduction, p. 10). But, in truth, the root of the matter lay deeper than this learned writer seems to have suspected. For we must remember that Egypt was the great workshop of the system of ancient legislation; the first principle of which was, that it is lawful to deceive for the public good. The circumstances of the people afforded their rulers greater advantages for acting fully up to this principle in Egypt than in any other country, so that it became early fixed in the minds of their priesthood and learned men, with a tenacity which it was impossible to disturb. Now then, when the fanatical school of the latter Platonists (whose headquarters were at Alexandria) sought to resuscitate the carcass of pagan superstition, and give philosophy a fresh hold upon the popular mind by an alliance with religion, there was no more likely method could be devised than of recommending their own doctrines under the venerable names of the ancient sages. Their principles did not stand in their way; and the mysterious veil under which the old Egyptian learning had lain concealed, as well as the destruction of almost all the true records of it in the political misfortunes of the country, gave great facilities for the successful practice of this jugglery. From them the early heretics soon borrowed the trick; and if some even of the orthodox did not wholly shake off their old pagan principles when they undertook the profession of a holier faith, the misfortune is surely rather to be lamented than wondered at. But whether this Epistle were a pious or an impious fraud—whether it emanated from the indiscreet zeal of some mistaken Christian or the dishonest knavery of some covetous bookseller—I am afraid it is too certain that the Fathers were not much inclined to scrutinise very exactly the true value of an evidence which tended to support any of their favourite opinions. 'Nec refert,' says the great Father Pagi, speaking of the fable of Aristæus, 'quod sancti

Patres historiam istam tanquam veram narrationem operibus suis inseruerint; *nam ea utrum esset vera, necne, non erat cur criticè inquirerent*, quando quidem Græca LXX seniorum versio, quâ tunc ecclesia utebatur adversus Judæos, qui contextum Heb. inter disputandum Christianis passim opponebant, illius fidem egregiè tuebatur' (cited by Dr. Hody, *Præf.* in 'Lib. de Text. Orig.,' &c.). So that Clemens, finding this work to abound in that mystical theology which his own prejudices led him to value, did not, we may be sure, think it necessary to examine very accurately into the external proof of its genuineness and authenticity; though we see that elsewhere, when he is disposed to give a contrary exposition of his own, he does not suffer the authority of an Epistle—which he tells us was written by an Apostle, a man full of the Holy Ghost—to stand in the way of his genius ('*Pædag.*' l. ii. c. 10).¹ Nor is this Epistle of St. Barnabas the only suspicious book appealed to in the 'Stromateis.' He cites with equal gravity the Sibylline Oracles, the Gospel of the Hebrews, the Gospel of the Egyptians, the Preaching of St. Peter, the Acts of St. Peter, the story of Aristeas, &c. For we must be careful to distinguish in the writings of the Fathers when they are concerned with the real grounds of their own faith, and when they are only using plausible topics to persuade others. In settling the canon, for instance, upon which they knew the integrity of their whole religion depended, they were, as became them, cautious, deliberate, and discriminating. But in the case of those books that had no claim to such a place, and yet might be made use of in their contests with heathens or heretics, the rhetorical nature of their early education, and the agonistic temper of the times, inclined them sometimes to be less scrupulous. This distinction appears to me of great importance to be observed by anyone who desires to understand the true sentiments and character of the ecclesiastical writers.

¹ I was surprised to find that the Bishop of Lincoln, in his excellent *Life of Clement*, has not noticed this remarkable inconsistency, when he speaks of 'Barnabas' Epistle,

LECTURE III.

*FROM NERVA TO COMMODUS—JUSTIN MARTYR,
AND THE RISE OF SPECULATIVE THEOLOGY.*

GENTLEMEN,—The period which we now approach opens with that remarkable interval which historians have been accustomed to regard as the halcyon days of the world—reaching from the accession of Nerva to that of Commodus, in whom the riot and tyranny of the earlier Cæsars again broke loose to devastate the empire. In the line of emperors which extends from Tiberius to Domitian, if we except the short and troubled reigns of Vespasian and his son, it might seem as if the Ruler of the Power of Darkness had almost visibly seated himself upon the throne of the world, successively incarnate in a series of monsters, whose one object appeared to be to give full scope to all the vilest and most destructive passions that can agitate the human breast: and during this fearful revel of the demons of prodigality, rapine, lust, and cruelty, set free in their basest, direst, and most detestable forms, the whole framework of society was loosened; every moral tie which had bound together so strongly the parts of the great Republic, was relaxed, and the vast *compages* which the care of so many centuries had cemented into one mass, seemed to threaten immediate dissolution.

With the return of a stable government, of public virtue, and of what (when compared with the examples of former princes) might be called private decency, even in the cases of Trajan and Hadrian, and what was real purity of morals in the first two Antonines, men began to feel the sentiments

which naturally spring up when sober daylight breaks upon them after a night of furious debauchery. Shame at the degradation of the human race was at last awakened. Conscience, which had seemed to have almost lost its place in human nature, made itself felt and heard once more. Unbridled licentiousness had taken its full swing, and the issue was manifestly seen to be ruin; and now the conviction was forced upon the general mind that, if that ruin was to be at all averted, it could be averted only by a reformation of morals. But where was the force to be found which could produce such a change? Never was it more evident, more palpable as it were, than in that age, that men must be born again before they could be capable of good, that a reformation must be preceded by a regeneration of mankind, by the introduction of some new vital principle, some new plastic power, capable of remoulding to virtue souls which had been so long steeped in corruption.

The old Roman morals had their foundation in the severe and thrifty habits of the early Republic, and from an ignorant, but (among ancient pagans) more than usually serious respect for the ancestral religion. They were the result of severe family discipline and family associations. They were habits carefully formed from the tenderest youth—uninquiring prejudices which the stern and illiterate statesman or warrior gloried in carrying with him to the grave. Thus, as in the case of what we call ‘good old English prejudices,’ there was much that was narrow, and even ridiculous, mixed up with what was most truly respectable and salutary in the traditionary morals of ancient Rome. The grand danger of such a mixture is this: that the good for a long time consecrates the evil in men’s eyes, and prevents them from attempting a separation when it may be made with comparative security; and that after the two elements have become indissolubly intertwined, the inherent caducity of evil betrays itself; the narrow and ridiculous prejudices are exploded, and the sound principle round which they had clung too tenaciously is exploded with them. The morals of the old

Republic quickly disappeared before the approach of luxury and the diffusion of literature. The stream was poisoned in its fountain. The family of the wealthy citizen ceased to be a school of domestic honour and piety. The dissolute young man went forth without principles and without habits of virtue, prepared to drink in an easy philosophy which taught him to laugh at the religion of his forefathers, and dissipated with a breath the mysterious awe with which that religion had invested the institutions of his country. The last feeble champions of the Republic had implicitly themselves confessed the system of its morality was effete, by seeking a frail support from the better parts of Greek philosophy; and when Cato of Utica stabbed himself over the page of Plato, it was as if the despairing genius of old Rome had sought to propitiate, by the blood of its last free citizen, the power by which its enchantments had been dissolved.

But in truth there was no regenerating principle in any part of the Grecian philosophy. It had already failed to infuse life into the very people with whom it originated, and to whom it was most congenial; and when transplanted into the Roman soil it seemed even still more visibly stricken with the curse of barrenness. In Greece itself philosophy had never borne any better fruit than the unwholesome one of mere speculation. In Rome, at least after Cicero, it did not bear even this. The Grecian plants which Lucretius and Cicero introduced, were unproductive cuttings, brought into an alien climate. They expanded their buds for a single summer into flowers, but they ripened no seeds, nay, struck out no fresh branches. The greatest of the Roman philosophical writers were little more than translators from the Greek; and the Latin mind at its best estate seemed only capable of understanding, scarcely ever of thoroughly relishing, and in no instance of adding anything to, the Grecian models. It was before a God that could not help that Cato poured out the vain oblation of the best blood of ancient Rome.

Indeed, the most sagacious of the Greek philosophers

themselves seem to have been conscious of the radical impotency of their systems to effect any extensive change in the state of mankind; and the wildness of their devices to remedy this radical weakness of philosophy is the clearest proof that it was by human means irremediable. You have but to look into the last chapter of Aristotle's 'Nicomachean Ethics' to see evidence of this. The scheme of a just morality, he says, can only be adequately understood and appreciated by those who are already, in practice, moral men. If so, the mass of mankind, who were then certainly not already moral, must be reduced to order by some other lessons than those of a philosophic treatise on morality. And how was this to be effected? Why, by a wise legislation, which should train them to the practice of morality from their earliest youth—such a system as he proceeds to delineate in the 'Politics,' to which the Ethics were meant to serve as an introduction. But then, by what means were the ignorant and immoral to be persuaded to resign themselves implicitly into the moulding hands of the philosophic legislator? Here was the grand difficulty. The old legislators had felt it; and in barbarous times had partially succeeded by the pretence of a divine commission; and their example had been imitated by Pythagoras, whose thaumaturgic tricks were obviously intended to answer a like purpose. But the time had gone when such tricks could be even partially successful. Aristotle's shrewdness, if not his love of truth, kept him from the most distant approach to anything of that sort. Plato, I believe, would willingly have made the attempt in his own person if he could. But he was a man personally of too soft and enjoying a temper to prosecute such a scheme at any time with the requisite energy and sternness. What he could he did. He made the most of the deep impression which the extraordinary character of his master, Socrates, had left on the minds of men, and sought by heightening all that was most extraordinary in that character, by some mythical traits to make it assume a superhuman air; and feeling that, after all, the coarser and more plebeian features of the blunt moralist of Athens could not be quite

concealed by an heroic mask, he sought further aid from ancient and strange traditions. He brought, as Xenophon¹ complained, the portentous and enigmatic wisdom of Egypt into his doctrine, and sought to identify his system with the legendary remains of the Orphic theology, and the obscure vestiges of a purer mythology which lingered in what were called the Mysteries of Eleusis and of the Cabiri. But this blending of strange elements was made in vain. It was uncongenial with the temper of the times. It shocked and disgusted his philosophic friends, and it produced no effect upon the vulgar. It was dropped entirely by his immediate successors, in whose hands the writings of their master became a mere storehouse of commonplaces for subjects of abstruse disquisition, and among whom the doctrine of Plato lost all traces of a positive system, and his Academy degenerated into a mere school of scepticism, more or less decently concealed. Still more infelicitous, perhaps, was the attempt of Chrysippus to gain help from the religious element of paganism. In no form could his rugged morality ever be popular, least of all in the grotesque mask of mythology, travestied by forced puns upon names into a cold and puerile system of physics. At any rate this attempt, in such an age, to gain help from the old forms of paganism, was seeking the living among the dead. It was going to borrow authority from that which was itself bankrupt of authority.

When the traditionary morals, then, of the men of the old Republic were lost in the very vastness of that great empire which they had achieved, there was no germ of life in the wilderness around to supply a healthier progeny in their place. And the issue was that scene of unbridled and universal licentiousness which opened at the death of Augustus, and continued to fill the stage, with scarce a moment's pause between the acts of its disgraceful tragedy, until the strong hand of Trajan expelled the abominable performers and drew down the curtain.

¹ The author doubtless refers to his *Epist. ad Æschin.* apud Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* xiv. 12.—EDITORS.

So much, as I said, the strong hand of power could do. But something more was needed to regenerate society. In mere despair men's minds reverted to that very scheme of pagan religion which the last age had so contemptuously exploded. But something fresh was needed to stimulate it into even the semblance of vitality. Strange rites and new deities were invoked from the East and from the South; and into the practice of such rites and the worship of such deities, men, from utter weariness of former scepticism, were seen to fling themselves with an eager credulity which trusted at once to the promises of the most worthless impostors. We need but read the 'Pseudomantis' of Lucian to see remarkable instances of this. Then, too, was first attempted the grand design of which we see so many traces in the writings of Plutarch, afterwards more fully carried out under Julian, of creating a kind of Catholic paganism—grafting a pure teaching of the best philosophic morality upon a combination of all the mythologies of all nations, purged from some of their most monstrous and repulsive peculiarities—invested with mystical explanations that should make them wear something of a respectable appearance, and supplied with a kind of sacred literature in the poems of Homer and Hesiod, elevated to the rank of inspired productions and allegorised into profound and recondite meanings.

But these efforts were, as I said, the efforts of despair. They could not be long sustained. In effect, the phenomenon which then presented itself is one which has more than once recurred in history. A system which seems worn out recovers for a while some gloss of interest and novelty by being long laid by. But if really worn out, it recovers it only for a very short time. The thing is soon found to be inherently rotten, and to have been discarded for that very reason. As it was with the revived paganism of Plutarch and Porphyry and Julian, so will it be, I suspect, with that mediævalism which our forefathers so long tried, and, having found it intolerable, flung from them, but which we have brought again into a transitory vogue. The lamp in such cases, deprived of the

needful nutriment, shrouds itself in obscurity, and seems extinguished; but a casual breath may enable it suddenly to call in its parting forces for a last effort—it leaps up into a momentary blaze, and then goes out for ever.

In the meanwhile, however, God was actually effecting that which man, by his own resources, endeavoured in vain to accomplish. In the Christian Church the spectacle was being exhibited of a religion which brought a new life into the world, and could work a moral regeneration in the mass of mankind. Within the pale of that Church there was, indeed, already much to be deplored, and, as compared with their own acknowledged standard, the conduct of many Christians was grievously defective; but, as compared with heathen society without that pale, it was like the land of Goshen during the plague of darkness. Light was in the dwellings of the Christians, while on all the dwellings of the pagans there was a thick and palpable gloom. ‘Christians,’ says that very ancient author whose Epistle to Diognetus is commonly printed in the works of Justin Martyr—‘Christians are not distinguished from other men by soil, or speech, or political institutions. They do not inhabit cities of their own, nor use any unusual dialect, nor practise any strange mode of life. They have discovered no recondite piece of learning, nor adopted any human opinion, like the sects of philosophy. But dwelling, as it may chance, in Grecian or in barbarian towns, and following the customs of the places where they live, they yet display a wondrous and scarcely credible polity to the world. They dwell each man in his own country, yet only as sojourners. They share in all as citizens, and yet suffer all as strangers. They marry like other men, and have children, but they do not expose their offspring. They spread a festive board for their friends, but it is not polluted by debauchery. They are in the flesh, but they do not live after the flesh. They dwell upon earth, but their conversation is in heaven. In a word, what the soul is in the body, that Christians are in the world. The soul is diffused through all the members; and so are Christians through all your cities. The soul is in the body,

but not of the body ; so Christians are in the world, but not of the world.' ²

The very persecutions which the Church soon incurred seemed to make its peculiar character the more conspicuous, and the more completely to refute the abominable calumnies with which they were attempted to be justified. 'I myself,' says Justin Martyr, 'when I was attached to the tenets of Plato, hearing on one side the charges brought against the Christians, but seeing on the other the intrepidity with which they faced death, and whatever else is looked on as most terrible in suffering, considered that it was impossible that these men should be plunged in profligate voluptuousness. A voluptuary, a profligate—one who could count it a good thing to feed on human flesh—how could such an one embrace death, which would deprive him of all his enjoyments? Nay, would he not rather seek by all means to prolong his existence, and escape the notice of the magistrate? Least of all would he openly impeach himself when the consequence would be immediate death.' ³

The turn, then, which the course of things had given to many serious minds, of searching for such a power as Christianity actually brought with it, was, I think, a predisposing cause which led many philosophers in the second century to embrace Christianity. Wearied out with seeking in vain for the sparks of truth and righteousness on earth, they were thus made more willing than their predecessors to accept the sacred flame from heaven. For I am speaking now of those who really submitted themselves to the faith of Christ. Others there were—and they were the Gnostics, properly so called—who did but give a wider extension to that scheme of Catholic paganism to which I before referred, enlarging it so as to embrace Christianity, as well as almost all other forms of religion. Of these systems some strange and highly interesting fragments are preserved in the work ascribed to Hippolytus, which has been lately published at Oxford, and in which the

² *Ep. ad Diognet.* V.

³ *Apol.* ii. 12.

legends of Greece and Egypt are blended in one mass with the Scripture-narratives. But such systems really gained no element of stability from Scripture. On the contrary, having the rod of power in their hands, they wilfully flung it away. The unexampled power of Christianity sprang from its being a religion founded on fact, and capable of being earnestly believed as matter of fact. Such a religion these men transformed into a mythology, and fancied that, when thus shorn of its strength, it could still render them a giant's service.

But with them I am at present not concerned. I am treating of the philosophic school of divines who arose in the second century within the Church.

Of these, the earliest of whom we have full materials for making a correct estimate, is Justin Martyr.

Justin was born at Flavia Neapolis, the present Nablous, in Samaria. In calling himself a Samaritan, however, he must, I think, mean something more than merely that he was born in that country. He plainly, in more passages than one, identifies himself with the Samaritan race, though it is equally plain that his family were not Samaritans by religion. At an early age he seems to have earnestly devoted himself to the pursuit of philosophy; but even then we can perceive that his aim was not such as would often have been found in the men of the preceding generation. His grand object was to ascertain something about God. His first instructor was a Stoic. Such a teacher did not well suit one who was eagerly looking out for a stay beyond himself. 'After spending much time with him,' says Justin, 'when I found that I knew nothing more about the Deity than at first (for my teacher knew nothing himself, and used to say that information on this subject was not at all necessary), I left him.' He then tried a Peripatetic, but finding him a mere mercenary instructor, he ceased attendance, and betook himself to a Pythagorean. This new instructor, however, required a previous knowledge of music, astronomy, and geometry; and Justin's heart failed him at the prospect of so tedious a preparation for the study which alone he desired to prosecute. As the next thing,

therefore, he attached himself to the Platonists; and amongst these he found much delight in the speculation of pure ideas and incorporeal existence, and fondly promised himself that, by indulging in such abstract contemplation, he might soon attain that actual intuition of the Deity which they held out as the end of their philosophy. For the purpose of hastening on this desirable consummation, he determined to withdraw to a solitary place near the sea, where he might enjoy undisturbed meditation upon these exalted topics. But just as he had reached the spot where he hoped to be quite alone, he was aware of the presence of a venerable old man following him, with whom he fell into conversation, and who turned out to be a Christian. The old man set himself very earnestly to refute the Platonic doctrine that the human soul is of the same substance as the Deity, and endowed with a natural capacity of apprehending the supreme God. 'It is in these matters,' he urged, 'as in the case of some object in a distant region totally unlike anything with which we are familiar. We can know nothing of such an object unless we see it ourselves, or learn its description from some one who has. So God knoweth no man but he to whom God has immediately revealed Himself, or he who has learned from the immediate recipients of such a revelation.' Justin at first stoutly stood his ground, but he was soon forced to feel that he had met more than his match. One by one his Platonic convictions gave way, and he was prepared to listen eagerly to the announcement with which the old man closed the conversation. I will give it to you in full, for it is a remarkable specimen of the way in which the truth was put before inquirers in those early times.

'There were men who existed long before all those who are esteemed philosophers; they were blessed and just, lovers of God, speaking by the Spirit of God, foretelling things then future but which are now happening—they are called prophets. These alone saw the truth, and spake it out to men, slaves neither to human respect, nor fear, nor vainglory, but saying only what they had seen and heard, being full of the Holy Spirit. Their writings still remain, and he who studies

them and believes them, may thence derive useful information concerning both principles and ends, and such things as a philosopher ought to know. They did not write in the way of logical demonstration, for they were witnesses of the truth, a character far above such reasoning. But the things which have happened and are now happening compel assent to their words. And they also justly challenge belief on account of the miracles which they performed, since they did so, proclaiming God the Maker of the Universe, and his Son Christ, which the false prophets, full of a deceiving and unclean spirit, neither did nor do, but only display mighty works to amaze men's minds and glorify the demons and spirits of error. But do thou pray that the gates of light may be opened to thee. For these things cannot be understood or perceived by anyone but him to whom God and His Christ shall grant the understanding.' Here the old man withdrew, and Justin saw him no more. But the issue was that he took his advice, and after further inquiry became a Christian.⁴

An eager desire, as we have seen, of knowledge of the divine nature was the predominating influence which drove him through all the various modes of heathen philosophy to the Christian faith. So we shall not be surprised that the parts of revelation bearing on this subject had a special interest for him. It is to be lamented, indeed, that coming to the study of the sacred books with a mind set upon obtaining such speculative scientific information on these subjects as they were never intended to convey, he interpreted with reference to the questions that filled his own thoughts, passages which, upon more reasonable principles of exegesis, would be seen to be wholly unconcerned with those questions; and mixing up his own philosophical notions with the matter of revelation, he set the perilous example of constructing out of Scripture a theoretic theology. The difference, indeed, between the manner in which the doctrine of the Trinity is handled by Justin, and by the sacred writers and their immediate

⁴ Justin gives the entire narrative in the commencing chapters of the *Dialogue with Trypho*.—EDITORS.

successors, is so great, that some of the early Socinians put forward the monstrous hypothesis that the doctrine of the Trinity was first introduced by Justin. If they had said that the scientific handling of it had been by him first introduced, they would have been nearer to the truth, though even this they could never have proved. But the doctrine and its scientific treatment are two as totally different things as the known phenomena of mind and matter are from the theories which have been framed to harmonise, connect, and account for them. That the so-called scientific treatment of the doctrine of the Trinity had no existence in the times of the Apostles within the Church, nor probably among the race of Doctors immediately succeeding them, and that the scientific statements of that doctrine were variously modified in after ages, I am quite prepared to grant. But I must shut my eyes to the plainest evidence before I can hold that the doctrine itself was not taught by the Apostles and by their next successors.

LECTURE IV.

*SPECULATIVE THEOLOGY ADVANCED BY JUSTIN,
CLEMENT, AND ORIGEN.*

GENTLEMEN,—I touched at the close of my last lecture upon a most important subject, the rise of speculative theology in the Church, and I now intend to treat it somewhat more at large. It is impossible, I think, without a right conception of the true character of this theology to understand the after-history of the Church. It was in these early times of which we now treat, that the seeds were sown of those great Trinitarian controversies which have produced such wide and such permanent divisions in the Church. It was then that the foundations were laid of that vast structure which, under the name of Scholastic divinity, afterwards attained to such stupendous dimensions, and engaged in its erection almost the whole intellectual vigour of the middle ages. And finally it is in the speculative theology of the second and third centuries that the Pantheism of modern Germany has found a plea for representing itself as the pure, Catholic, original form of Christianity. It is therefore in every way important that we should understand its true nature and character. You will permit me therefore to occupy you for some time in this investigation, for Ecclesiastical history, as I understand it, is not a mere detail of transactions, a catalogue of Bishops, a record of Councils and their decrees, an inventory of heresies, or a string of biographical notices, but it includes, as one of its most valuable parts, an account of the progress of the human mind working upon some of the deepest questions which have ever engaged it.

It seems to have been an established maxim with the Grecian philosophers, excepting of course the Cyrenaic and Epicurean schools, that, as the intellect is the highest faculty of man, so the perfection of the pure intellect is man's highest aim, the grand purpose which he is destined to fulfil. Even the practical Aristotle, you know, proposes the question whether contemplation or action be the higher life, and solemnly decides it in favour of contemplation; and he describes the practical understanding as a kind of steward, which, by a prudent management of the inferior concerns of the soul, gains leisure for this master faculty to pursue its elevated meditations.¹

Now undoubtedly the ideal perfection of the intellect would be a state in which all knowledge would assume the form of one harmonious deductive system, in which all particular cases would appear as instances of one grand general law, itself intuitively evident; or, in the language of an elder philosophy, we should see all effects in their causes, and all subordinate causes in the great First Cause.

Hence an attainment of the knowledge of the principles of things, and specially of the first principle, was supposed to be the perfection of man. It was the great aim which thoughtful men proposed to themselves; and with such views it was not unnatural that they should suppose that when God revealed Himself to man, it would be for the purpose of conferring upon him this, the highest perfection of his nature.

Hence sprang the notion that the aim of philosophy and Christianity were substantially the same, and hence, though it was not clearly apprehended by the Fathers, would have resulted the inference actually drawn by the Hegelian divines of Germany, that Christianity is a system of pure reason, a system as properly scientific as geometry or any other abstract science.

Now, the first traces of this speculative theology appear, as I said, in Justin Martyr, and they appear specially in reference

¹ Aristot., *Eth. Nicom.* x. 7, 8

to the doctrine of the Trinity, and that, both in respect of the person and of the subject, not unnaturally.

Justin was a philosopher. The impulse which drove him to philosophy, and through the schools of philosophy to Christianity, was a desire to understand the divine nature. Full of curiosity after speculative knowledge, he came to this divine oracle, and he was not the first nor the last pre-occupied inquirer whom it seemed to answer according to that 'which was in his heart.'

It was equally natural that he should find the point of contact between Christianity and philosophy in the doctrine of the Logos. This term, which was already a philosophical term, the Apostle John used, for the purpose, as it would seem, of more emphatically contradicting some of the Gnostical misstatements put forward in his day. But though the Apostle, I think, makes it sufficiently evident to every unprejudiced reader that it is of a manifestation of God for moral and practical purposes that he is speaking, yet it is easy to understand how, to a mind preoccupied with the notion of the necessity of speculative knowledge, the Apostle's use of such a term might seem to justify the following out of such a train of thought as it would suggest to a philosophic inquirer.

The Logos was, according to the philosophy of that day, the true scheme of the universe as it existed in the divine mind. Philo compares it to the plan which an architect forms of an edifice in his own conception before he proceeds to erect it; and so he says the Supreme Architect had in himself the ideal model of all His works before he created them. These works, therefore, bear two aspects—one in which they are presented to sense, which is a mere imperfect view of phenomena; the other in which they are contemplated by reason in their true essential natures, their mutual relations and dependencies, and their connection with the great First Cause from which they proceed.²

This view it seems to have been Justin's object to accom-

² See Phil. Jud., *de Kosmopoeiâ*, pp. 2, 3. Paris, Turneb., 1552.—
EDITORS.

moderate to the requirements of the Christian faith. The plan of the universe, he went on to suppose, thus formed in the divine mind, became, by an effort of God's will, a distinct Person, endowed with a creative energy to realise itself in the works of nature: and this was the generation of the Word by which it became the living Son of God. The Son of God, therefore, is the Divine Reason itself, subsisting in a distinct Person, yet not so as that the Father ceases to possess it also in Himself. On the contrary, it is, argues Justin, as if one lamp were kindled from another—the flame is imparted from the first to the second, and yet the first not diminished; or as, when we convey our meaning in words—the meaning is at once in the speaker's mind, in the word spoken, and in the understanding of the intelligent hearer.³

From this conception of the Word, as Reason subsisting at once personally and impersonally, Justin was led into another view of the matter pregnant with suggestions of very dangerous error. Christ, he says, the firstborn of God, was the reason of which the whole human race participated, so that all who lived according to reason (*μετὰ λόγου*) were Christians, even though they were reputed to be atheists—for instance, Socrates, Heraclitus, and others amongst the Greeks;—while those who lived contrary to reason were bad men and enemies to Christ. Whatever right opinions the Gentile philosophers entertained respecting the nature of the Deity, the relation in which man stands to him, and the duties arising out of that relation, were to be ascribed to this seed of the Word implanted in their bosoms. But to them was given only a small portion; the true believer in Christ alone possesses its fulness.⁴

You will easily perceive the construction which may be put upon such a doctrine as this when travestied into the language of modern philosophy. It might be represented, and has been represented, as teaching that Christianity is

³ Just. Mart., *Apol.* ii. 6: *Deol. c. Tryph.* 61, 62, 100, 125, et passim.

nothing different from the perfection of mere human moral philosophy—that Christ is the Word of God because he delivered in its purity that moral doctrine which Gentile sages had only imperfectly attained. But this would be a mere travesty. Justin held that the Word was not only participated in as an illuminating principle by the whole human race, but actually subsisted as a real living Person, substantially one with God, in Christ His only-begotten Son. We may call such a doctrine inconsistent and absurd, but it is unfair to represent it as the same with one which directly subverts the very foundations of revealed religion.

But it is in the Church of Alexandria that the speculative theology makes its most marked appearance in the second century. In that city the philosophy of the Greeks had already connected itself with the earlier revelation of Judaism, and, placed as they were in the very citadel of pagan science, the Christians were under strong temptations to follow the precedent of their Jewish predecessors. To this temptation Pantænus, commonly reputed the founder of what is called the Catechetical School of Alexandria, appears to have been the first to give way. None of his writings are now extant. We have, however, several of the works of his disciple Clemens, who, in his '*Stromateis*,' openly declares his intention of delivering Christian doctrine 'mingled with the dogmas of philosophy, or rather concealed and hidden in them.'⁵ The Greek philosophy, in its better forms, Clemens regards as, like the law, a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ; and he expressly declares that the philosophers were raised up by God among the heathens for a similar purpose to that of the prophets among the Jews.⁶ Hence he contends that the student must be trained in the knowledge of philosophy in order to attain an acquaintance with the profound and hidden meaning of the Scriptures.⁷ That meaning he divided into two parts—the plain and obvious practical part of the gospel, which is common and essential to all Christians, and which

⁵ Clem. Alex., *Strom.* i. p. 278 B, ed. Sylburg.

⁶ *Strom.* i. p. 282 C-283 A.

⁷ *Strom.* iv. p. 499 A.

he calls *the faith*; and that peculiar to the more advanced, which he calls *knowledge*—gnosis.⁸ And his description of the perfect man of knowledge is such as almost exceeds belief. A perfect initiate in knowledge, he says, is wholly free from all passions; it is not enough to say that he has his passions in complete control—he is absolutely without them. He lives in contemplation, and this contemplation is of all truth. To him nothing is unintelligible. He knows all things past, present, and to come; and from this state of perfection he can never fall!⁹

Substantially the same view is still more systematically developed by Origen.

God's principal scope, according to him, in inspiring Scripture, was to illuminate such as could penetrate through the meaning of the words with a knowledge of those things which relate to men—i.e., to embodied souls. But since a knowledge of this cannot be obtained without a knowledge of God, we must, in this sublime science, allot the first place to questions concerning God, and His only-begotten Son—what is His nature? in what sense He is the Son of God? what were the causes of His condescension to human flesh? next, to questions concerning the nature of human souls, the creation of the world, the fall of angels, the origin of evil, &c.¹

Such was the primary scope of revelation. The second was to involve these high mysteries in edifying historical narratives and plain discourses, suited to the capacities of those who were not fit to comprehend the sublimer science.

Christianity was thus made, in fact, a twofold religion, intended for two different classes of persons, and its higher nature was made, agreeably to the philosophic view, to consist in the perfection of the intellect by imparting a knowledge of the highest speculative truth.

We may remark two most important results of this view of the nature of the Christian revelation. First, it required a

⁸ *Strom.* vii. p. 732 D. This distinction of faith and gnosis, knowledge, runs through the entire work.—EDITORS.

⁹ *Strom.* vi. pp. 649 B, 650.

¹ Origen, *Philocal.* i. 14, c *De Princip.* iv. 14.

strained and allegorical interpretation of Scripture. The Bible, according to it, was to be the vehicle of a system of abstract speculative knowledge. This it plainly was not in its outward and literal sense, and consequently it was necessary to find for it another and an abstruse one. And for this the way had been prepared both by the pagan and by the Jewish schools; but in both these instances, it must be acknowledged, with far better excuse than in the case of the Christian teachers. The pagans were, in a manner, forced upon this method of explaining their old mythologic legends by the obvious absurdity of their literal meaning. They had nothing for it but to turn them into allegories. The Alexandrian Jews, again, when they endeavoured to represent their religion as a full, and perfect, and Catholic revelation of God to man, found many things in their sacred books which were utterly irreconcilable with such a notion. The Law had conceded many things to the hardness of heart of an obstinate and self-willed race; it was a mere imperfect preparatory dispensation which, speaking to children, spoke in the language of children. In order, then, that it should be invested with a character that did not of right belong to it, it was necessary to treat it allegorically, in the method so largely applied by Philo to the history of the Old Testament. Now, the example being thus set by Jews and pagans, it was not strange that it should be followed by the Christians, since in doing so they gained at once two seemingly great advantages. 1. As the Old Testament was recognised by the gospel, whatever in the Old Testament appeared at first sight harsh and repulsive—such as the immorality of some of the patriarchs, the sternness, the ritual minuteness, and in some cases the tolerance of evil—in the Mosaic code formed, in the eyes of the pagans, objections equally against Judaism and against Christianity. These objections the allegoric method, already suggested by the practice of both Jews and pagans, afforded them a ready mode of evading. 2. Upon the plea of this necessity it afforded the philosophic divines an opportunity of going further, and magnifying the profound system

of Scripture by importing into it all the physical and metaphysical lore which they might choose to bring in ; not to mention that it saved them the trouble of seeking to understand the literal meaning, which requires far more study and research than to fit an allegory upon the words of a current translation, without regard to the sense of the original, the connection of the discourse, the drift of the writer, or the circumstances of his times.

The mystical interpretation of Scripture then was a necessary result of this speculative theology, and yet one so much recommended by other circumstances as to keep it in countenance rather than serve as an objection to it.

Another consequence was what is called the doctrine of reserve, or esoteric and exoteric teaching. This also had been forced upon the pagans by a supposed necessity. They regarded truth and utility as not coincident. The popular religions they viewed as absolutely necessary to keep the vulgar in check, while at the same time they looked upon them as utterly false. Hence they studiously concealed what they deemed the truth on such subjects from all except the more cultivated understandings. This studious concealment was something quite different from not attempting to teach men things which they had no mind to learn, or which they could not at all understand. The teachers of geometry or physical science could not be said to studiously conceal their doctrines from the illiterate. They made no secret whatever of those doctrines ; it was only that the illiterate, while they continued such, could not comprehend them. But it was otherwise with the philosophic doctrines concerning the nature of the Deity, for example, and of the human soul. Upon these subjects they spoke one language to the vulgar, and another to the learned. And the language which they held to the learned directly contradicted that which they held to the common people. And thus also it was with the Gnostics. But as there was no such esoteric teaching, directly contradicting the exoteric, in the Church itself, we may naturally ask whence sprang the careful re-

serve or concealment of the higher doctrines. It is only a partial answer to this to say that in some cases these higher speculative views really gave scandal to the mass of Christians, and were therefore as little as possible divulged to them. In particular cases this is true. Origen lets us plainly perceive this in many instances, as specially with reference to his views upon the resurrection of the body and the pre-existence of human souls. And Tertullian observes that the simple and unlearned were apt to be shocked at metaphysical statements of the doctrine of the Trinity.² But I am convinced that this is neither the whole nor the chief account of the matter. Still less do I think that these sublimer doctrines were concealed for fear of giving offence to the pagans or Jews. In effect they were what were least likely to give offence. The plain literal fact of the gospel, Christ crucified, was to them the great offence—to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness. The true account, I take it, is this; that first, the concealment which the Greek philosophers were forced to practise had indirectly the effect of investing their esoteric teaching with a higher value in men's eyes than it would otherwise have had. The very difficulty thrown in the way of reaching it made students more eager to reach it, and made those who had obtained it more respectable in public estimation. The teachers, by not committing their whole system to writing, but reserving much of it to oral lectures delivered to select auditors, became personally more important than they would otherwise have been, and there was a charm of mystery thrown around their doctrines which experience proves to be peculiarly attractive to the human mind. Thus the ideas of concealment and profundity became associated in men's thoughts, and a doctrine which was not studiously kept from the vulgar was looked on as hardly worth knowing. It was therefore, I think, rather for the purpose of recommending their sublime doctrines to the pagans than from fear of giving offence, that the earlier Christian teachers affected this reserve.

² Adv. Praxeam, iii.

LECTURE V.

*SECRECY RESPECTING CHRISTIAN RITES IN THE
EARLY CHURCH—CONNECTION WITH THE
PAGAN MYSTERIES.*

GENTLEMEN,—I touched in my last lecture, slightly and by the way, upon a subject which seems to require a more attentive consideration than we then had time to afford for it—I mean the character of secrecy with which the principal rites of the Church began to be invested during the period of which I have been treating.

In the earlier portion, indeed, of this period there are no traces of any such studious concealment from unbelievers of the nature of the Church's rites as we find beginning to prevail in the latter part of it. Whatever secrecy was practised in the actual observance of those rites was, in the earlier times, the mere effect of a dread of persecution, and extended no farther than its cause. The Christians, when in hourly danger of being apprehended by the magistrate or assailed by a turbulent populace, sought—and sought very properly—to escape discovery in their religious assemblies by a careful exclusion of all who could not be safely trusted—by meeting at night or before break of day, and in places as much as possible secluded from observation, and not likely to be visited by strangers, as the Cemeteries and Catacombs, for example. (See Dr. Maitland's 'Church in the Catacombs.') But while the actual celebration of their religious rites had thus, from accidental circumstances, much in common with what were called Mysteries among the pagans, this resemblance was, at the time I now refer to, merely accidental. It was the result, not of their own choice, but of the violence of others.

The nature of those rites was so far from being concealed that, on the contrary, we find the early Apologists most anxious to make it generally known, as the best means of dissipating those injurious reports which were industriously circulated of immoral practices in the meetings of the Christians. So Justin ('Apol.,' i. 61) describes baptism as follows: 'In what manner we have dedicated ourselves to God, being made new through Jesus Christ, we shall explain, in order that we might not seem by omitting this to act dishonestly in our exposition. As many as are persuaded and believe that those things which are taught and alleged by us are true, and profess to be able to live accordingly, are taught to pray, and, fasting, to ask from God forgiveness of their past sins, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are led by us to where there is water, and are regenerated with a kind of regeneration with which we ourselves also were regenerated. For in the name of the Father of all things and Lord God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of a Holy Spirit, they then make their bath in the water. . . . Since, not knowing our first generation, we have been born by necessity . . . and have come into evil habits and wicked rearing, that we should not continue the children of necessity or of ignorance, but of choice and knowledge, and might obtain in the water forgiveness for the sins previously committed, there is named over him that has chosen to be regenerated and repented of his sins, the name of the Father of all things and Lord God; (pronouncing this alone when bringing to the laver him that is to be washed, for no one can give a name to the ineffable God . . . and this laver is called illumination, as those that learn these things are illuminated in their minds); and in the name of Jesus Christ that was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of a Holy Spirit, that through the prophets proclaimed beforehand all that relates to Jesus, the person that is illuminated is washed.' And again (64-65) he is equally explicit as regards the Lord's Supper: 'And after thus washing the person that has been persuaded and given his assent, we bring him to the brethren, so called, where they are assembled together, to make common

prayers both for themselves and him that has been illuminated, and all others everywhere, with fervency, that, &c. Then there is brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of mixed water and wine. And he having received them, sends up praise and glory to the Father of all things through the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. And he makes a long thanksgiving for being vouchsafed these things from Him; and when he has finished the prayers and the thanksgiving, all the people present add a loud assent, saying Amen. Now Amen in the Hebrew language signifies So be it. But the president having given thanks and all the people having audibly assented, those that are called with us deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and of the wine and water on which the thanksgiving has been pronounced, τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος, and carry away to those not present. And this aliment is called with us Eucharist, of which it is not lawful for any other to partake, save him who believes that the things that have been taught by us are true, and has had himself washed with the laver for forgiveness of sins and unto regeneration, and lives so as Christ hath delivered. For we do not receive these as common bread or a common cup; but in what manner Jesus Christ our Saviour having been made flesh by God's word, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also we have been taught that the aliment on which thanksgiving has been pronounced by the word of prayer from Him, from whence our blood and flesh are by transmutation nourished, are both flesh and blood of that Jesus that was made flesh.' And again in 67: 'And on the day called Sunday there is an assembly made of all that abide in towns or country, and the memoirs of the Apostles or writings of the Prophets are read as long as is practicable. And when the reader has ceased, the president by word gives counsel and exhortation to imitate these excellent instructions. Then we all stand up together and offer prayers; and, as we said before, when we have ceased from the prayer, bread is presented, προσφέρεται, and wine and water, and the president sends up prayers in like manner and thanksgivings to the best

of his ability, and the people give audible assent, saying Amen. And the distribution and participation of the things on which the thanksgiving was pronounced is made to each, and sent, through the deacons, to those not present.'¹ (Kaye's 'Justin M.,' pp. 84-90.) There are several expressions in the account here given of the Sacraments and other rites of the Church, upon which I shall have occasion to remark hereafter. But at present I only quote them for the purpose of showing how unreservedly this primitive Apologist lays bare everything connected with them, the outward symbols and the inward meaning alike, to the uninitiated pagans whom he is addressing. An ecclesiastical writer some centuries later would have trembled and turned pale with horror at hearing a contemporary thus expose to unbelievers the holiest of the Church's holy things. He would have stopped his ears and fled from him, as a religious pagan would have shunned the company of a traitor to the sacred silence which guarded the Mysteries of heathenism.

Vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgárit arcanae, sub isdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemve mecum
Solvat phaselon.

We must conclude, therefore, that in Justin's time such notions upon this subject as afterwards prevailed were unknown, or at least disregarded, by the general body of Christians, since otherwise we cannot explain how Justin should not only himself have ventured upon such an announcement, but have therefore incurred no censure, nor forfeited the good opinion of his brethren. And this latter circumstance is most material to be observed. For it is impossible to explain the reverence with which Justin is always treated by the succeeding ecclesiastical writers, notwithstanding the great difference of his tone from theirs, without supposing that before they flourished, he had already gained so well known and so

¹ We have introduced these passages as the Bishop evidently meant to read them, having written in the MS., 'So Justin, etc.' We have taken them direct from Justin himself, and not from Bishop Kaye's work. There is another passage in the *Apology*, to which alone the Bishop refers, which he may have read also, but as it is given in the next lecture we need not transcribe it here.—EDITORS.

firm a place in the love and admiration of the Church as to make his authority above detraction. As a saint, already in a manner canonised, that was suffered to pass unrebuked, perhaps almost unobserved in him, which in a person of less note, or in a contemporary, would have excited a tempest of indignation. This is the enviable privilege of writers of an established ecclesiastical renown. The mistakes, the false reasoning, the sophistry, the rash opinions, nay, even the immorality, which are most severely censured in others, are passed lightly over, and, if possible, left wholly unnoticed in them, for no other reason but because they bear the venerable name of Fathers of the Church. And by a strange perversion of the rules of charity, living men who can be personally galled and injured by it are made the mark of unsparing vituperation, while those who can no longer be pleased by our praise nor hurt by our censure, are exempted from even the slightest criticism.

But to return: since, as we have seen, the custom of involving in secrecy the nature of the Christian rites seems clearly to have formed no original part of the discipline of the Church, it will be interesting and useful to trace the sources from which it arose, and the manner in which it gradually established itself; more particularly as this instance will reflect light upon many other developments which took place during the same period.

I have observed already that there was a certain amount of secrecy, not chosen by, but forced upon, the early Christians by the circumstances of their times. Fear, for instance, of the consequences of discovery, in a season of persecution, made it needful for them to guard as far as possible against a discovery by unbelievers of the time and place of their religious assemblies. Hence it became expedient that there should be some private token by which the trustworthy members of the Church might be easily distinguished, and the need of such a token would, you will observe, outlast the actual prevalence of any one particular persecution. For persecution, local or general, was an evil against which the

early Church was never secure. As long as theirs continued a *religio illicita*, unrecognised and therefore forbidden by the law of the Empire, there was no knowing at what moment the rigour of the law might be put in force against them, or the sanguinary violence of the vulgar permitted to assail them with impunity. Hence it was expedient—as a standing precaution—that some mark should be in the possession of the Church for distinguishing its real and faithful members from those who might enter its assemblies only to betray them. Such a mark was the baptismal creed of each Christian community, which was imparted orally to the catechumen, when previously trained and found worthy, and which he was exhorted to retain in his memory as a sacred deposit, and repeat as a symbol, or tessera, or watchword, by which he might be known by his genuine brethren. And the same reason which made it expedient to make the tradition of the creed itself secret, rendered it equally so to exclude strangers from those rites of the Church in which it was recited in the presence of the congregation—that is, Baptism, in which it was professed by the candidate, and the Lord's Supper.

Now it requires but a very slight acquaintance with human nature to understand how such a practice, first introduced by necessity, should soon have become a matter of choice. A love of this sort of mysterious privilege is a well-known principle, which we see operating around us in our own day among the highest and the lowest of the people. But the circumstances of the times of which I am speaking in these lectures quickened this common principle of our nature at that season into peculiar activity.

From very early times of the world's history there seem to have been practised throughout Greece, Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Chaldæa, and Persia, certain secret rites of religion, under the name of Mysteries, which were regarded by the people with peculiar veneration. Such were the Mysteries of Cybele, of Hecate, of Ceres, of Bacchus, of Adonis, of Mithras, of Orpheus, and of Isis. These were some of the most considerable; but besides these, there

seems to have been hardly any more important temple of any god in which the priests did not profess to have in reserve some secret with respect to his history, or the manner of his worship, which they communicated only after a certain period of probation to those whom they affected to consider worthy receivers of it. In effect I believe that in these Mysteries the original conceptions of the various deities, and the primitive forms of their legends, were most accurately preserved. In the minds of the mass of the vulgar these conceptions and stories took infinite variations, as they were moulded to this or that shape by the unrestrained operation of a mythical fancy wholly, or nearly wholly, unregulated by any reasonable standard. But in the Mysteries—at least in the more respectable of them—the legend was delivered down by the tradition of an order of educated men, with a fixed succession and a limited number, so as that some security was provided against essential change, or at least against merely capricious and inconsistent change. And there is reason to believe that the pagan religion, in its primitive form, resolved itself into the two great sources of emblematic nature-worship and hero-worship—the worship of the various powers of nature, and of dead men deified. Hence we may explain the hints to be met with in ancient writers, which strongly suggest the suspicion that in the more considerable of these Mysteries the deities of paganism were explained to be mere powers of nature, or to have been heroes once living, but now no more, and whose memory was gratefully commemorated in the adoration which seemed to recognise them as gods. Not that all this was delivered in a plain and systematic form, but that as these were in truth the fundamental ideas of much of the old mythology, so a reflecting hearer might without difficulty perceive them under the almost transparent veil of the legend in its simpler original shape, as given in these Mysteries. ‘What,’ says Cicero, in ‘Tusc.’ I. c. 12, ‘is not almost all heaven filled with the human? If I should search into antiquity, it would be found that even those very gods themselves who are deemed the *Dii majorum gentium*

had their original here below. Remember, for you are initiated, what you have been taught in the Mysteries, and you will then understand how far this matter may be carried.' 'I forbear,' he makes Cotta say elsewhere, 'to speak of the sacred and august rites of Eleusis. I pass by Samothrace and the Lemnian Mysteries, which, when explained and reduced to rational principles, seem to disclose rather the nature of things than of the gods.'

The legend of Ceres, which was the subject of the Mysteries of Eleusis, was such as to make those rites peculiarly attractive. It gave a great opportunity to the dramatic genius of the Greeks to gratify man's natural curiosity by a grand scenic display of the regions beyond the grave and the state of the departed; and it seems probable that in this, and indeed in almost all the Mysteries, the priests pretended to deliver to the initiated instructions for their safe guidance through those regions when they should come actually to visit them. I cannot but suspect that the curious funeral papyri now in this library give us some idea of these instructions, containing as they do directions to the deceased as to the manner in which he is to answer the challenges of the guardian demons of the other world. And very similar to these are the Mysteries of the Ophites, preserved by Origen against Celsus, lib. vi. p. 296, ed. Spencer.

Hence we find that the initiated at Eleusis boasted of having as their peculiar privilege good hope in death, and a knowledge of the means of obtaining a speedy introduction into the realms² of light.

From what I have said, you will readily perceive how far I agree with, and how very much I differ from, the view taken by Bishop Warburton of the nature of these Mysteries.² He supposes that they were a deliberate political institution of the magistrate for the purpose of keeping up a sense of religion as connected with morality among the common people, and of providing a rational view of it for the better educated. The lesser, or preparatory Mysteries, he supposes were meant for the crowd, and their object was to impress upon them a vivid

² In Book II., § 4, of the *Divine Legation*.

idea of the rewards and punishments of the next world as a check upon impiety and injustice. The greater Mysteries were, he thinks, designed to let the better orders know the great secret of the unity of God and the falsehood of the popular mythology.

I cannot enter now into a minute examination of this famous hypothesis. But I will just remark, in passing, that one point—essential to it, as I conceive—is, throughout his argument, continually assumed, without, as far as I can see—and I have searched for it very diligently—the shadow of a proof. He assumes everywhere—it is, indeed, absolutely necessary for him to assume—that quite a different class of persons were admitted to the greater Mysteries from those invited to the lesser. Now there is not, I think, in all antiquity the least hint of any such distinction. It seems to me to have been an established and regular thing for those who had been one year initiated in the lesser Mysteries to proceed the next year to the greater; and that no other qualification was demanded to fit them to become candidates for the second privilege than that of having previously enjoyed the first. And it seems to have been considered a disreputable and even criminal thing for any citizen of Attica to abstain, as Socrates and Demonax did, from being initiated in these Mysteries. The truth is, too, that it was only the greater Mysteries which were celebrated at Eleusis. The lesser were solemnised at Agræ, on the Ilissus, or, as some say, in Athens itself. And when one bears this in mind, it will be amusing to observe how completely Warburton overturns his own hypothesis in the very places where he thinks himself most secure of establishing it. For all the evidence which he brings to prove that a scenic representation of future rewards and punishments formed part of the Mysteries of Eleusis goes, in reality, to show that this scenic representation was part of the greater, not of the lesser Mysteries, as his hypothesis requires him to maintain.

Be this, however, as it may, certain it is that the Eleusinian Mysteries were the most venerable and most attractive insti-

tution of European paganism; and when, as I have already noticed in a former lecture, the attempt began to be made in the second century by the philosophers to infuse new life into the moribund carcase of heathen superstition, they naturally cherished these with the greatest solicitude as retaining most sparks of vitality, and as most capable of being restored to effectual energy. In the time of Hadrian and the Antonines these Mysteries may be said to have been in their greatest splendour, and the Fathers seem plainly to have regarded them as the very citadel of paganism (from that period a purer morality seems to have been infused into them, together with a large admixture of mystical theosophy), and to have directed against them their most spirited attacks. So far all was right. But in an evil hour for Christianity, they conceived the idea of transferring to the Sacraments of our religion the awful charms which made those rites so attractive, and gave them an influence over men's feelings and imaginations which no one unacquainted with the literature of that age can at all estimate, and which no modern can perhaps adequately estimate. They conceived, I say, the idea of opening in the Christian Church rival Mysteries to those in the pagan temple. The points of resemblance between the Mysteries and the Sacraments were sufficiently numerous to facilitate, though not at all to justify, this transference of attributes from the former to the latter. I will give them, as they have been reduced by Dodwell, under seven particulars. 1. The object of the Mysteries, as of the Sacraments, was said to be an union of man with the Deity. 2. Both were intended to lead men to a happy immortality. 3. The Mysteries were generally commemorative of the suffering of some deity, as the wanderings of Ceres in search of Proserpine, the death of Tammuz or Adonis, the dismemberment of Osiris. 4. The Mysteries, like the Sacraments, were delivered in visible symbols or emblems. 5. And among their figurative rites, washing with water and the eating of bread as a sign of friendship found a place. 6. The Mysteries were preceded by a kind of penitential discipline. And, 7, in them all things were called by new

and figurative names. So the priestesses of Ceres were called *Μέλισσαι*, the sharers in the Mithraic Mysteries, Lions, the hierophant at Eleusis was styled *Demiurgus*, and the initiated never afterwards called him by his proper name. Nothing, indeed, can be more harshly figurative, and, as the Greeks themselves would call it, Dithyrambic, than the whole strain of their language when speaking of the Mysteries; and from the time that the fashion began to prevail of treating the Christian Sacraments in the same manner, we may date the introduction of that extravagant, high-flown rhetoric which ended in the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Indeed, it is worth observing that the passages in the ancient writers of the Church which seem to favour that doctrine are generally taken from their popular discourses, intended for the ears of unbelievers and catechumens, and that the point which they carefully reserve from such persons is not the mysterious and supernatural grace, but the true nature of the emblem by which it was supposed to be represented and conveyed. Thus, for example, Chrysostom, in one of his Orations, speaking of the altar, exclaims, 'There lies the Lord's Body, covered all round by the Holy Spirit. The initiated know the meaning of what I say.'³ Here you see that there is no reserve at all about the strongest possible form of the figurative language; the sign is boldly called by the title of the thing signified. But what is reserved is the real nature of the sign. Still more remarkable, and indeed decisive of the whole question, is a passage from Theodoret which occurs in a dialogue between two interlocutors—*Eranistes* and *Orthodoxus*. *Eranistes* represents an Eutychian who is endeavouring to prove that the humanity in Christ was swallowed up, as it were, in the divine glory. *Orthodoxus* endeavours to refute him by pointing out that the symbols in the Eucharist would be unmeaning if there were not a real Body and Blood of which they are the images. This illustration *Eranistes* endeavours to turn the other way by observing that these symbols un-

³ *Hom. de Beat. Philog.* 3, p. 753, Migne.

dergo a change by the benediction of the priest, and he proceeds thus :

‘What do you call the gift offered before the priest’s invocation?’ Orthodoxus replies : ‘This must not be said openly, for some of the uninitiated may be present.’ ‘Answer then,’ says Eranistes, ‘in hidden terms.’ ‘We call it,’ proceeds Orthodoxus, following his advice, ‘an aliment made of certain grains.’ ‘And how do you call the other symbol?’ ‘We give it a name that denotes a certain beverage.’ ‘And after the consecration, what are they called?’ ‘The Body and the Blood of Christ.’⁴

Here, then, you see plainly that the figurative, or, as we should call it, mystical name, the Body and Blood of Christ, was precisely the thing that was openly mentioned in the presence of the catechumens. The fact that this Body and Blood were bread and wine was the secret reserved from their knowledge.

⁴ *Dial. i. Immutabilis*, p. 53 (24) Migne.

LECTURE VI.

*ON THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE DOGMA OF
TRANSUBSTANTIATION.*

GENTLEMEN,—In my last lecture I gave you an instance of that accommodation to the habits of thought prevalent in the pagan world which, in the course of four centuries, produced such a remarkable change not only in the outward aspect, but in the inward essential structure of the Christian religion, as held by the great majority of its professors. For, you must remember, that the instance which we were then examining, the investing of the Christian Sacraments with the attributes of the heathen Mysteries, was only one symptom of a tendency which grew continually stronger and stronger through each succeeding age, till at last it seemed to threaten an entire perversion of Christianity into a form of paganism. When in tracing the operations of this tendency to accommodation we find, in the fifth century, the saints and angels avowedly put in the place of the heroes and deities whom the heathens worshipped, and men called upon, not so much entirely to renounce the service of such false gods, as to transfer their services from one set of gods to another, the discovery of such a development as this ought surely to open our eyes to the nature of that spirit which was working in less revolting forms towards such a consummation, even in the earlier and purer times.

There is, indeed, no more nice and delicate question in morals than those concerning allowable accommodation to habits of thought and usages closely connected with error and superstition; but it is one which my present purpose does not

require me to enter into, and which hardly falls within my legitimate province. But I may observe, by the way, that such concessions can seldom be prudently made except for a temporary purpose, nor then except when the governing party in the Church are not themselves subject to the weakness which calls for those concessions on the part of others. Accommodation to the weakness of children should be made by those who are not children ; and for the special object of bringing the weak under the influence of new guiding principles which shall in time make them fit and willing to 'lay aside childish things.' Everything, in most of these cases, depends upon the question whether the Church is in a state of growth or of decay, whether the strong prevailing tendency is towards progress and intellectual enlargement, or towards retrogression. The accessions gained by such means may be compared to nutriment, more or less unwholesome according to circumstances, which may be digested and converted into healthy blood by a vigorous constitution, but which will be at once most noxious, and most importunately craved for, when the powers of the stomach languish and become incapable of assimilating the substances demanded by a false appetite. Thus materially the same concessions to Romish taste which were safely made in the early part of Edward VI.'s reign, when the ruling tendency was towards Protestantism, and the object was to carry on the mass of the people in that direction, were pregnant with danger in Charles I.'s, when the current was running strongly the other way. It is one thing to slacken sail for the sake of a tardy companion, when wind and tide are bearing us gallantly forward, and quite another to rest upon our oars when the elements are conspiring to drive us back.

Now, in the case of the concessions to pagan prejudice which have suggested these remarks, there were, I fear, hardly any of the securities in existence which render such accommodations safe. It is plain I think that, on the part of the rulers of the Church, they were made not merely to gratify the tastes of others, but also to indulge their own. They were therefore symptoms of a tendency, subsisting in

the very vitals of the Church, in that direction in which the danger of such language and notions and usages lay. They were symptoms of the very disease the existence of which was a proof that such concessions could not be safely made.

Perhaps the happiest of all examples of legitimate accommodation may be derived from the the sacred writers, who often speak of Christian things in language borrowed from the rites of Judaism and Gentilism, but always, I think, in such a manner, and with such a felicitous choice of the point of comparison, as effectually to exclude and rectify the erroneous associations which might be expected to make such allusions dangerous. They allude, for instance, almost as freely as the later ecclesiastical writers, to those Mysteries which were so popular among the Greeks, as finding a sort of counterpart in the Christian religion. But the counterpart to which they point is one very different from that presented by the uninspired teachers of the Church. It is not doctrines reserved *now* for a particular class of privileged hearers. It is not the symbolic rites and ceremonies of the Church itself. It is not, in short, anything which could possibly tend to introduce either class religion or superstition into the Christian community, but the direct opposite and antagonistic idea to them both. They find the true point of comparison in the history of the human race. The mystery of which they speak is that which was hid from ages and generations, but is now made manifest by the open preaching of the word. Figure, and enigma, and dark inuendo, and unexplained rites, and all the curious embroidery of that symbolic veil which covered its import from the uninitiated, they treated as belonging to a previous dispensation. They were themselves hierophants commissioned not to conceal from any, but to make all men see the mystery of God, and therefore using, in the execution of their sacred office, great plainness of speech. All present concealment they renounced as part of the hidden things of dishonesty, and openly published a gospel which was veiled only to those whose eyes were blinded by the god of this world. Thus in the very allusions which

they made to the Mysteries of paganism, they contrived to correct in making them, by the point of comparison which they selected, the fundamental error which alone rendered such allusions dangerous. No one could feel the force and justness of the allusion without perceiving at the same time, and in one and the same act of mind, that all concealment had now passed away with respect to the mysteries of Christianity. In a word, in the Apostolic mode of management, it was pagan ideas that were accommodated to Christianity; in that of the Fathers, it was Christianity that was accommodated to pagan ideas.

A similar remark will apply to the Apostles' way of alluding to Jewish conceptions and usages, as compared with that which, in the second century, began to prevail among the ecclesiastical writers.

At first glance nothing might appear more easy and natural than the transference of the terms proper to the Jewish priests to the Christian ministry, and the transference of the terms proper to the Jewish sacrifices to that solemn rite in which the Church commemorates our Saviour's death. But deep reflection might perhaps have discovered beforehand—what experience abundantly evinced afterwards—the extreme peril of any such transference. Such names would inevitably have carried with them wrong, and most dangerously wrong, associations—the old meaning of the name, instead of being limited by the known nature of the new office to which it was applied, would have changed men's conceptions of the nature of that office, would have moulded opinion to itself, and through opinion, governed practice. The Eucharist was a thing capable and apt, with a little encouragement, under the circumstances of the times, to be taken for an expiatory sacrifice. The Christian minister was a person, under the same circumstances, capable and apt to be mistaken for a mediating priest. And to have applied such terms to the Sacrament or the minister, in the midst of men familiarised with and prone to form such ideas of both, would have been to lay a snare for the weak and encourage fatal misconceptions.

How wisely, therefore, did the Apostles guide themselves—or rather how wisely were they guided—in the allusions which they made to the sacrifices and priests of Jews and Gentiles. For the sacrifice and sacrificing priest an exact counterpart is found in the very thing and person that they were designed to represent—the oblation of Christ once offered by Himself in the heavenly sanctuary. And this you will observe, as in a former case, is so far from encouraging any transference of the false ideas to Christianity, that it completely obviates such a transference. By fixing the mind upon a work past and incapable of repetition, the thoughts are shut out from seeking elsewhere for anything of that kind. By raising the mind to an altar, a sacrifice, and a priest in the courts above, we are taught not to look for them in any earthly shrine.

If, however, as the Socinians pretend, it is merely in the way of accommodation and allusion that our Saviour's sufferings are called a sacrifice, and Himself a priest, we should have small reason to admire the divine wisdom of such conduct in the Apostles. Upon this representation of the matter, they would have done the very thing which we have been commending them for not doing, and which I think they certainly never did in any other instance. They would have been laying a trap for the unwary : since in speaking thus of what was plainly apt to be taken for a proper sacrifice, to men full of the notions of sacrifice and atonement, and hardly able to conceive the idea of a religion without them, they could scarcely be understood otherwise than as sanctioning what the persons who attribute such behaviour to them regard as a most serious error. This would be, indeed, to find a precedent for the worst extremities of *οἰκονομία* and *φανακισμός* in the earliest and most venerable—because inspired—teachers of the Church.

But where the Apostles really do speak in the way of mere allusion concerning priests and sacrifices under the Christian dispensation, they select the terms of their comparison in a very different way. To parallel with sacrifices and sacrificing priests, they choose things which are obnoxious to no dangerous misconception. It is of ourselves, our souls

and bodies—of our alms, of our thanksgivings and prayers—that they speak as legitimate Christian sacrifices; and consequently of all the faithful alike as the sacrificing priests. Once, indeed, in a highly figurative passage, Paul speaks of himself as exercising, in his ministerial character, a sort of priestly office, Rom. xv. 5-17: ‘Nevertheless, brethren, I have written the more boldly unto you in some sort, as putting you in mind, because of the grace that is given to me of God, that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering [*ἑρουργούντα*, performing the priestly office of] the gospel of God, that the offering up, *προσφορά*, of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost.’ But the point of comparison which he there selects is not the administration of the Sacraments, but the preaching of the word. As Christians are a living sacrifice, so he regards himself as bringing such sacrifices to God by converting men to Christianity. This was a figure incapable of being abused, except by gross perverseness, to the purposes of superstition. Nay, the very circumstance that when searching for something in his office to parallel with that of the Jewish priests, he should deliberately pass by the obvious instance of a Christian Sacrament, and choose this remote one, is, perhaps, even a stronger evidence of careful evitiation of everything that could encourage men to turn that Sacrament into a proper sacrifice, than if he had never spoken of his apostolic office as a priesthood at all.

I touch these things but slightly, gentlemen, because they are, I doubt not, topics with which you are already familiar, and you will probably be apt rather to blame me for noticing them at all than for noticing them thus briefly. But you may not perhaps be equally familiar with a curious explanation of these phenomena which has lately been propounded by Professor Murray, of St. Patrick’s College, Maynooth, in a work which he calls the ‘Irish Miscellany,’ and which I would strongly recommend to your perusal.

That the clergy are never called priests, and the Eucharist never called a sacrifice in the New Testament, while at the

same time these terms are freely and largely applied in that book to other things and persons, has often been relied on by Protestants as strong evidence that the Apostles could not have entertained such conceptions of the clerical office, or the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as are now entertained and professed by the Church of Rome. And most Romanists have, I believe, always felt that this emphatic silence of the sacred writers is a difficulty in the way of their system. Nothing, however, according to Dr. Murray, is easier than the solution of this difficulty. The Apostles, according to him, most likely abstained from applying these terms to such subjects, lest it should be supposed that the Church had such sacrifices as the Jews and pagans, namely, beasts literally slain. Now this, I cannot but think, is to suppose the Apostles most superfluously careful against an error most unlikely to arise, and at the same time most heedless against a mistake almost inevitable under such circumstances.

That the Church had no sacrifices of slain beasts was a thing patent and evident to the senses of all observers; and no one, without the most careless inattention, could suppose that they had. But then, for the very same reason, it was equally obvious to suppose that they had no expiatory sacrifices at all. All that can be said to prove the indissoluble connection in men's minds between slain beasts and expiatory sacrifices goes in reality to show that, *where* there were no slain animals, *there* it would not be suspected that there were expiatory sacrifices. Now this latter, Professor Murray must own, was at least as dangerous an error as the former, and I will add, far less capable of being silently corrected. The absence of slain beasts in Christian worship was a fact testified by sense. That the Eucharist was an expiatory sacrifice, and the minister a sacrificing priest, was what the churches could not possibly learn except by being told so by the Apostles, i.e. by the Apostles doing the very thing which Dr. Murray tells us they, for excellent reasons, did not do. Aye, it may be said, but they may have told it orally, though there is no trace of it in the Gospels or Epistles. But then, what becomes of the

wise reasons for not telling it at all? Is there such a marvellous charm in oral teaching that the same words are safe and salutary when spoken, but pregnant with a thousand perils when written down? If so, Jack Cade was to be commended for declaring reading and writing capital offences.

Nay, it may be urged, the great danger was of leading Jews and pagans into error about the rites of the Church. The Apostles might safely use those names in the ears of the faithful, but they were fearful of publishing them to the world.

Well! but was it not for the faithful that the Scriptures were written? Roman Catholics are never weary of telling us on other occasions, that the Scriptures are the exclusive patrimony of the Church, intended for her and her alone, and not for either heretics or unbelievers. Indeed, if it be once granted that whatever was written in Scripture was published at once, the whole notion of a *disciplina arcani* vanishes into thin air, since it is undeniable that the very things which the later Church most studiously concealed are there plainly spoken of in the most unreserved manner. But, indeed, turn it how you will, this plea is utterly futile; since no one could possibly read the Christian Scriptures without perceiving that whatever might have been meant by calling the Eucharist a sacrifice, and the minister a priest, it was not meant that animals were literally slain in the performance of it. And as for utterly careless or utterly stupid readers, they were just as likely to fall into such an error from finding all Christians called priests, and their services called sacrifices. If the mere words were enough to mislead them, in spite of all sense and reason, and if the Apostles had been so nervously timid as to shrink from such a danger, then the terms in question would not have occurred in the New Testament at all.

On the whole, I cannot sincerely compliment Professor Murray upon the felicity of this solution. I think he shows much more wisdom in the other alternative which he proposes in answer to the difficulty, namely, that he cannot tell why

the Apostles abstained from such applications of these terms. This, I think, is quite fair and reasonable, and to say the truth, I should be very much surprised if any gentlemen who held that the doctrine of the Council of Trent on this subject was the doctrine of the Apostles, could tell why they should have been so delicate about stating it.

But to return: the notion of the Eucharist's being an expiatory sacrifice was, indeed, for many centuries after the Apostles a total stranger to the Church. But it cannot be denied that very soon after the Apostles, unskilful transference of the ideas and language of the Old Testament to Christian subjects began to prepare the way for such a notion. In the genuine remains, however, of the Apostolic Fathers there is little of this kind. In the famous passage in Clement's Epistle, c. 40 *et seq.*, if it be not interpolated, there is proof of an extremely early instance of such confusion. He appears there to speak of the Christian ministry under the titles of priests and Levites, and runs a kind of parallel between their ministrations and the temple-services. The whole passage, however, is very obscure, and so unlike in its character to the rest of the Epistle, while so like in every respect to the spurious pieces ascribed to Clement, and so easily detached from the context, the coherence of which its removal does not injure, that I confess I entertain strong suspicions of it. Certainly nothing of this sort is to be found in Polycarp or Ignatius. They speak often of Christ as our priest, and his offering as a sacrifice, but while magnifying in no measured terms the dignity of the episcopal and presbyterian offices, and of the Eucharist, they never apply to them such terms as we are considering. Ignatius indeed insists more than once upon there being but 'one altar,' and this has led some to suppose that he regarded the holy table as such. But the context of some of the passages will not allow us to put such a sense upon the term. Take, for example, Eph. v.: 'Let no man be deceived! If he be not within the altar he comes short of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two hath such efficacy, how much more that of the bishop

and the whole church.' To speak of a man's being within the material table, would plainly be nonsense, and it is most reasonable to suppose that Ignatius considers in these passages the whole congregation, duly united under their bishop and presbyters, as an altar for the divine service, just as Polycarp in his Epistle (iv.) talks of the widows as being or forming part of the altar. 'Let the widows be sound in the faith, knowing that they are an altar of God, and that He diligently inspects His offerings, and that no thought escapes His observation.' All passages, however, in which such modes of speaking occur in the Greek text of Ignatius are, it is worth observing, entirely omitted in the Syriac.

As we go down later, however, very curious, what may seem at first sight utterly inconsistent phenomena, begin to appear. On the one side we have, for example, such statements as these of Justin Martyr's: 'We have been taught that God has no need of material oblation from men, well knowing that He is the giver of all things; but we have been taught, and are persuaded, and believe, that He accepts only those who copy his goodness, purity, and righteousness, and benevolence, and whatever else is akin to the divine character. We worship the Maker of the universe, who requires not blood and libations and incense; to Him we use words of supplication and thanksgiving in all that we present, praising him to the utmost of our power; for we think that this honour alone is worthy of Him, not to consume by fire what has been created by him for our nourishment, but to distribute them to ourselves and to those that need them, and in gratitude to Him to offer solemn prayers and hymns by word of mouth, on account of our creation, and the supplies for our well-being, and the qualities of things, and the changes of seasons, and praying to be made again incorruptible through faith in Him.'¹ And yet, on the other side, notwithstanding such distinct repudiations of all material oblation, we find the same Father speaking of the Eucharistic elements as a sacrifice, though never as an expiatory sacrifice. 'The offering,' says he, 'of flour which

¹ *Apol.* i. 10, 13.

was commanded to be presented for those who were cleansed of the leprosy was a type of the bread of the Eucharist, which Jesus our Lord commands to be observed in remembrance of the passion which he endured for those whose souls are cleansed from all wickedness, that we may at the same time thank God for creating all things, and for freeing us from the iniquity wherein we were born. . . . Concerning, then, the sacrifices offered by us in every place, that is the bread of the Eucharist, and the cup of the Eucharist, the prophet speaks, saying that we glorify his name, and you profane it.' ² The truth is, that in this wavering and uncertain voice of the earlier Fathers, we may trace the effects of a struggle between the genuine spirit of Christianity and the Sacerdotalism which was beginning to stifle that spirit. Justin could perceive and feel the nobleness and liberality of that view which regards moral works as the sacrifice to be rendered to Him who should be worshipped in spirit and in truth. But then the temptation to a sacrificial rite was very strong; the more so as it seemed to promise an abundant store of types and prefigurations in the Old Testament. And so, between these two contrary impulses, it is not strange that he should not always be quite consistent with himself. At times, however, he seeks to harmonise the two ideas by modifying the harshness of such statements as the last which I have quoted. 'All, who (offer),' he says in another place, 'in his name the sacrifices which Jesus Christ enjoined to be made, that is, at the Eucharist of the bread and of the cup, God beforehand testifies to be pleasing to Him.' ³ And again: 'I agree that prayers and thanksgivings, when made by the worthy, are the only sacrifices that are perfect and acceptable to God. For Christians are commanded to make only these at the commemoration of their dry and moist food, in which they commemorate the suffering which the Son of God underwent on our behalf.' ⁴ Here, you see it is no longer the material elements, but the thanksgiving for which they suggest the occasion, that is regarded as properly constituting the sacri-

² *Dial. c. Tryph. 41.*³ *Ibid. 117.*⁴ *Ibid. 117.*

fice of the Eucharist. For the elements are regarded as symbols of two blessings which they serve to recall to our minds. They remind us of the Creator's bounty in supplying us with dry and moist food. They remind us of the Redeemer's love in suffering to deliver us from sin. This, on the whole, I think was Justin's settled view, and it was always with more or less of figure, and generally under a temptation to catch a stray type from the Old Testament, that he spoke of the bread and wine themselves as the matter of a sacrifice or oblation.

In Irenæus we find, as we might expect to find, the idea of a material oblation, but still only an Eucharistical, not a propitiatory sacrifice, more definitely fixed. The bread and wine are considered as the firstfruits of God's gifts offered up to Him who gives us food. 'It is not,' he says, 'the genus of oblations that is rejected, but the species. There were sacrifices among the Jews, there are sacrifices also among us.'⁵

Justin and Irenæus may, as far as I can see, be fairly taken as exponents of the sense of the ecclesiastical writers of the first three centuries generally upon this subject. The general view of those writers is clearly to recognise none but spiritual and immaterial sacrifices; but when they approach the question of the Eucharist they seem to waver, and sometimes more distinctly take in, and sometimes more distinctly exclude, the elements in treating that Sacrament as an Eucharistical oblation. The first writer, and for a long time the only writer, who begins to disclose another view, that of a commemorative sacrifice, is Cyprian, in a passage which is not unreasonably a special favourite with the Romanists. It is in his sixty-third Epistle, in which he undertakes to show that the Sacrament can then only be validly consecrated when there is both wine and water in the cup. Having settled to his own satisfaction the necessity of water to represent the people, as wine represents Christ, he proceeds to show that the essence of the Eucharist requires wine also. Some it appears, and surely a very strange circumstance it is, had introduced

⁵ *Adv. Hær.* iv. 34.

the practice of using only water in the cup. 'If Jesus Christ,' he remarks, 'is Himself our High Priest, and Himself first offered Himself, and commanded this to be done in commemoration of Him, then certainly that priest truly fills the place of Christ who imitates that which Christ did; and then offers a full and true sacrifice to God the Father, when he so begins to offer as he sees Christ Himself to have offered.' Here, however, it is proper to observe that the context of the Epistle makes it plain that, in talking of a full and true sacrifice he is merely opposing those who would mutilate the rite by leaving out the wine. Full and true are not expressive of the completeness of the idea of sacrifice in the Eucharist, but are meant to indicate that if any part of Christ's example is not followed, the Sacrament is mutilated, and the requisite resemblance to the archetype not preserved. Cyprian, in short, in this as in some other cases, is in the hands of the Romanists a kicking gun. He does them as much mischief as us. Since, upon his principles, it is plain that to leave out both wine and water in the administration of the Sacrament is as much a departure from Christ's example as to leave out the wine in the oblation. And then, as for Cyprian's strong way of saying that Christ offered Himself at the Last Supper, if we look back to the former part of this Epistle, we shall find that the good Father speaks just as boldly of the water being Christ's people, as of the wine being his blood. 'In consecrating,' says he, 'the cup of the Lord, neither can the water be offered alone, nor the wine alone. For if one offer only the wine, Christ begins to be without us. If the water alone, the people begin to be without Christ. But when both are mingled together, then there is a true spiritual Sacrament. When the wine is mingled in the cup with the water, the people are united with Christ.' This passage, then, when fairly considered, proves no more that Cyprian regarded the wine as transubstantiated into Christ's blood, than that he regarded the water as transubstantiated into the Christian congregation. No doubt it was symbolically, and under the emblems of bread and wine, that Cyprian regarded Christ as

offering Himself in the Last Supper. But then this is an advance upon the notion of a mere oblation of bread and wine considered as the firstfruits of our food. It is not, however, an unnatural advance. On a little reflection you will plainly perceive the steps by which it was reached. First there is the idea of the Eucharist as an act of thanksgiving, suggested by the double aspect of the bread and wine, as food for our bodily nourishment, and as symbols of that Body and that Blood which were given for our redemption. Then this idea of thanksgiving begins to attach itself to the elements, as themselves an oblation, as symbols under which we represent to God our dependence on and gratitude towards Him. And here for some time the thought lingers only on the oblation of the meat and drink : no doubt because this was all that was suggested by our Saviour's own example, who gave thanks before He had made either element the symbol of His Body or Blood ; and because thanks offered by him for redemption would be unmeaning. But after a while, the second part of the thanksgiving as naturally suggested to us by the memory of his sacrifice, attaches itself to the elements also ; and then to make a place for an oblation of them under this aspect, the mere Eucharistic view becomes confused with another, that of a scenical representation of the sacrifice of Christ's Body and Blood. The act of oblation is regarded not merely as a thanksgiving for and acknowledgment of redemption, but as a dramatic representation of the very act of expiatory sacrifice itself. Here for a time the advance was arrested, but only for a time. Passionate feeling, blind reverence, fervid rhetoric, were destined in due season to conduct it forward to the conception of a proper expiatory sacrifice in the Sacrament itself.

LECTURE VII.

CYPRIAN.

GENTLEMEN,—In tracing the gradual development of the doctrine upon the Eucharist, I noticed towards the close of my last lecture that Cyprian of Carthage, in the third century, appears to have been the first writer who brought prominently forward the notion of a commemorative sacrifice. This was not the only subject, however, upon which that remarkable man influenced in a signal way the general views of the Church; and the entire history of those times is so intimately connected with him, that I feel myself called upon to pay some special attention to his adventures and his works.

But before I can be justified in treating him as an authentic witness of the transactions of that age or the opinions of his supposed contemporaries, you will perhaps demand that his existence should be proved and the genuineness of his writings vindicated. For, after flourishing for at least more than ten centuries in the odour of sanctity and the universal admiration of the whole learned world, a resolute assailant has lately appeared, Mr. Shepherd of Lutterdown, in his ‘History of the Church of Rome to the Episcopate of Damascus,’ who professes to demonstrate that the writings ascribed to him are spurious, and who, if there be weight in his arguments, makes it very questionable whether any such prelate ever actually existed. This is the part of that curious work with which I am now specially concerned, but this is only a small specimen of the devastation spread by its author through the regions of ecclesiastical antiquity. I greatly doubt whether since the time of Father Hardouin, the literary public

have ever witnessed such a wholesale massacre of ancient authors; and a reader who is persuaded by Mr. Shepherd's arguments must rise, I think, from the perusal of his work with the uncomfortable feeling that, if such a vast number of spurious documents should have so long and so universally imposed upon the world, and passed muster with whole generations of critics of all characters and opinions, the rest of the writings, too, ascribed to those times, and which have not yet been amputated by this 'slashing' examiner's 'ponderous hook,' have but slender claims upon our confidence. I confess that if I were prepared to go the whole length of Mr. Shepherd's conclusions, I should hardly feel comfortable in retaining my present office, and should be tempted to regard what is called early Ecclesiastical history as something very little better than the Golden Legend or the surprising adventures of Amadis de Gaul. Terrible is the havoc which meets one's eye in almost every page of Mr. Shepherd's destructive history.

'There is, I think,' he says, 'a mystery about the writings of Tertullian; and I have a strong feeling that, among others, the tract *'De præscriptione hæreticorum'* was not written by him. Then as to the great sources of history, Eusebius' History is grossly interpolated; the History attributed to Theodoret is little else than a repository of spurious writings. That of Socrates was rewritten to suit new views; that of Sozomen has been seriously tampered with, or is perhaps altogether spurious. That of Sulpicius Severus could not have been written by him, and is almost beneath notice. The treatise of Epiphanius on Heresies is a forgery; Jerome's book on Ecclesiastical Writers is a mere album of interpolators. The Epistles of Athanasius are forgeries; the Epistles of Basil are forgeries; Gregory Nazianzen's Autobiography is a forgery; a very large proportion of the letters ascribed to Jerome were never written by himself.' But I grow weary of this enumeration, and begin to fear that it would be much easier to give a list of the books which Mr. Shepherd has not assailed, than of those which he has.

Our present immediate concern is with the history and works of Cyprian; and against these Mr. Shepherd has arrayed a multitude of internal difficulties, many of which I frankly grant to be real difficulties, and in their way serious ones. But I must maintain that, on the whole, the objections against the story of Cyprian are neither in quantity nor in quality half so strong as those so forcibly urged against the story of Napoleon Bonaparte in the well-known 'Historic Doubts' with which you are all familiar.¹ Let us look at some of those upon which he chiefly relies. 'I wish,' says he, 'the reader to reflect upon the following facts. 1. That until the middle of the third century there is not the least trace of any intercourse between the bishops &c.' (p. 127.)

Now here I may be permitted to observe that Mr. Shepherd seems to have fallen into the common error of over-eager advocates, and damaged his own case by endeavouring to prove too much. 'There is not,' he says, 'till the middle of the third century the least trace of any intercourse between the Bishops of Rome and Carthage: indeed, we scarcely know anything of either church.' Now if we had known a great deal about these two churches before the middle of the third century, and yet had discovered no traces of intercourse, this would have been a strong point to make; but that in the absence or great penury of any historical records of their transactions at all, there appear no signs of such intercourse, does not strike me as any considerable objection. Mr. Shepherd, large as is his capacity of disbelief, does not quite go the length of denying the existence of large and flourishing churches at Rome and Carthage before the middle of the third century, notwithstanding the paucity of historical remains; nor will he, I suppose, deny that many important transactions may have taken place in them, and even have been recorded in the writings of contemporaries, though the memory of them has not come down to us. His criticism has indeed swept away almost all the authors who are commonly supposed to have flourished in the first three cen-

¹ By Archbishop Whately.—EDITORS.

turies: but he can hardly mean to say that there were no ecclesiastical writings at all then extant. If there were, it is as hard for him as for us to tell precisely what has become of them. The truth seems to be that the great fame which Cyprian obtained as an author perpetuated through his writings the memory of the transactions of his time, that those previous to him were lost because not embalmed in any such durable materials, and that until another Doctor of world-wide reputation arises again in the person of Augustine, a similar obscurity shrouds the annals of the North African churches.

*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur ignotique longâ
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.*

As for the abundant means of ready and speedy intercourse between Carthage and Rome, there is, I confess, something surprising about it. But then we must remember the vast traffic carried on between those ports, that North Africa was the granary of the imperial city, and that the Roman nobles had some of their richest farms in that district; and we know that the passage from Carthage to Puteoli might be accomplished in two days.

Let us now hear another objection.

'The next thing' &c. (p. 128).²

This, I think, is very curious. The state of the Church, he says, as portrayed in Cyprian's letters, is quite different from what appears in Irenæus, Clement, Tertullian, or Origen. Now, according to Mr. Shepherd, Irenæus and Tertullian have been either forged or interpolated by the same hands as forged Cyprian. It is curious then that they did not make their work more of a piece. I am afraid that by this remark he loses on one side as much as he gains on the other, unless indeed he says that the subjects treated of in their writings offered no fair opportunity for giving us the picture presented in those of Cyprian. If he says this, I shall allow it to be

² It seems unnecessary to extract this and other passages, as their purport is sufficiently indicated in the reply.—EDITORS.

quite reasonable; but then I must add that it wholly subverts his main argument. For if, as is indeed the fact, the writings of these authors are chiefly occupied with matters not at all relating to the details of church government, what is there surprising in the fact that little of the details of church government can be gathered from them? If we had any large correspondence about church business previous to the third century, and near the time of Cyprian, and concerning the same churches, and if in that a different picture were presented, there would then indeed be force in this argument. But as it is I can see none. Moral and theological discourses, treatises against Gnostical heresies, homilies, and allegorical Commentaries upon Scripture, are not the proper places to look for a description of the church polity of the times. But the correspondence of a Bishop about the affairs of his diocese—the works of a man eminently formed to be a statesman about matters such as a statesman loves to deal with—these are the place where we might expect to find such notices, and these are the place where we shall actually find them.

‘But,’ pursues Mr. Shepherd, ‘Cyprian’s writings, and even his name, are unheard of till the fifth century, and perhaps not heard of even then.’ ‘Indeed!’ you will exclaim; ‘is he not noticed by his contemporary Dionysius of Alexandria, is he not noticed by Eusebius, is he not noticed by Jerome, is he not noticed by Pacian?’ ‘Not at all,’ replies Mr. Shepherd; ‘he is so noticed indeed in all the extant MSS. of these writers, but the notices in question are either interpolations in otherwise genuine books, or else passages in books that are mere forgeries, and these interpolations and these forgeries were deliberately made for the purpose of bolstering up the credit of the Cyprianic forgeries.’

I cannot expect that you should follow me in a review of the extraordinary evolutions by means of which Mr. Shepherd cuts his way through all these testimonies. Very hot and bloody work it is; but on a general view of the matter two reflections naturally arise in the reader’s mind. Where, we may be tempted to ask, in the annals of literary imposture, can a

parallel be found for such thoroughgoing interpolation and forgery as this, carried on so successfully through such a number of such well-known and famous writings? First, a whole volume of treatises and letters and synodal documents is forged under the name of Cyprian—forged, as Mr. Shepherd tells us, so coarsely in the conception of them as to betray their spurious origin in every page, and yet so happily in effect as to take in every reader from the tenth century down to the year, whatever it was, in the nineteenth, when the mist cleared away from the eyes of the rector of Ludderdown, and he was enabled, like Ajax, *εὖ γινώσκειν ἡμὲν θεὸν ἥδε καὶ ἄνδρα*. Then, to recommend these forgeries, a series of other forgeries and interpolations was got up, equally coarse in their execution and yet equally fortunate in their issue; and yet, strange to say, with such recklessness and such power on the part of the forgers, they never thought of completing their work by filling up the gap between Cyprian and Eusebius, as they might have done just as easily as what they actually did! They had it seems, these mysterious personages, whoever they were, unlimited command over all the MSS. of the Fathers in all the world; they were able at their pleasure to poison the fountain of Christian literature in all its streams; they were deterred by no regard to truth and curbed by no knowledge of the rules of probability, and they could just as easily have given us a history of Church movements before and after Cyprian as during his times; and yet, though forging many pieces for the previous and immediately succeeding age, they forgot the expediency of keeping their own lies in countenance until they lit upon the ‘Ecclesiastical History’ of Eusebius!

Ah, Pamphile,
Tantamne rem tam negligenter!

But again, for what end were these vast forging operations carried on, upon a scale thus unparalleled in any other instance, or at least in any instance not adduced by Mr. Shepherd and Father Hardouin, and peculiar to them? For the purpose, Mr. Shepherd tells us, of asserting the Roman supremacy;

and 'supposing them to have been written for that purpose,' adds Mr. Shepherd, 'that object could scarcely have been more skilfully and less obtrusively obtained.'

Certainly not less obtrusively! For indeed such an object is so far from being obtruded on the reader that Protestants have generally supposed the letters of Cyprian to furnish some of the strongest arguments in all antiquity against the Romish supremacy. 'The ancients,' says Dr. Barrow, 'did assert to each bishop a free, absolute, independent authority, subject to none, directed by none, accountable to none on earth, in the administration of affairs properly concerning his particular church. This is most evident in St. Cyprian's writings.' And then, after quoting large evidence of this, he proceeds to give the result. 'He disavoweth the practice of one bishop excluding another from communion for dissent in opinion upon disputable points; he rejecteth that any man can have to be a bishop of bishops, or superior to all his brethren; he condemneth the imposing of opinions upon bishops and constraining them to obedience; he disclaimeth any power in one bishop to judge another; he asserteth to each bishop a full liberty and power to manage his own concerns according to his own discretion; he affirmeth every bishop to receive his power only from Christ, and to be liable only to his judgment. . . . Let any man of sense and honesty read and weigh those passages; . . . then let him, if he can, conceive that all Christian bishops were then held subject to the Pope, or owned such a power due to him who claimeth.'³ This is Barrow's account of the matter: and I believe you will readily grant that such advocacy of the papal prerogative is very unobtrusive indeed! The Pope, I think, might well remonstrate with the forger of these pieces for overdoing his reserve.

Perhaps it was right to dissemble your love,
But why should you kick me downstairs?

Indeed, when you consider that these letters close with

³ *Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy*, vol. iii. pp. 103-4, of Hamilton's edition of Barrow's Works.—EDITORS.

an open and angry quarrel between the Bishop of Carthage and the Bishop of Rome about rebaptizing heretics, and that Cyprian, a canonised saint, is sent to obtain the crown of martyrdom while in flagrant feud with Pope Stephen, and suffered to die without making one sign of repentance, you will be in a condition to do full justice to the unobtrusive character of this writer's advocacy of Roman usurpation. But when Mr. Shepherd goes on to compliment this supposed forger upon his skill, I feel unable to follow him. Never, I think, was anything managed more unskilfully than the Pope's cause in this writer's hands. And, indeed, this compliment comes with peculiarly ill grace from Mr. Shepherd. Why, if there be any force at all in Mr. Shepherd's previous reasoning, this author must have been the most blundering blockhead that fraud ever begot upon stupidity, a forger who can hardly write a page without exposing himself, and yet managing the Pope's cause so well that it could hardly be done more skilfully.

Let us look at one of Mr. Shepherd's choice instances of this skilful management (pp. 136-137). This is unobtrusive suggestion indeed, only equalled by Lord Burghley's famous shake of the head in the 'Critic.' The supremacy of the Roman Church is established by a letter in which the chapter of that city tell the Bishop of Carthage that they and he are bound in common to watch over the whole Church, whose members are distributed through every province. And an appeal to the superior jurisdiction of Rome is left to be gathered from such a letter as this! What Cyprian really thought of appeals to Rome, or anywhere else, these Epistles leave in no obscurity whatever. 'It is settled,' he says, 'by all of us, and is consonant to reason and equity, that every man's cause should be heard in that place where the crime was committed; and each pastor has a portion of the flock committed to him which he is to rule and govern, as about to give account of his proceedings to God. But a few desperate and profligate men despise the authority of the African Bishops as if it were less than yours.' This is his language

to Pope Cornelius.⁴ And this language Mr. Shepherd believes was put into his mouth by an advocate of the Pope's claims, in order to cherish a persuasion that, according to the established custom of the Church in those days, appeals might legitimately be made from Carthage to Rome.

Gentlemen, I should not have troubled you with this long discussion of Mr. Shepherd's work, if it were not that the writer bears a very high character for learning and ability with many competent judges; and I feared therefore that if I did not notice him at all, you might suppose that I had not considered his arguments, or was wholly ignorant of them, and under this impression might have suspected that in appealing to Cyprian as an historical authority, I was appealing to a witness whom I had no good reason for thinking trustworthy. I have now given you a specimen of the sort of objections by which the genuineness of the Cyprianic writings is impugned, and having thus put you on your guard against attaching too much weight to Mr. Shepherd's mere authority, I shall close this prolix controversial introduction, and resume the historical detail which it has unpleasantly interrupted.

It is remarkable that few great Doctors of any literary celebrity have issued immediately from the Church of Rome itself—meaning by that term not what is denoted by it in modern speech, but what the ancients meant by it—the Church of that particular city.

I think that there is no reason to doubt that, as far as intellectual formation is concerned, the mind of the Western Church was moulded much more by Carthage than by Rome. From the first, the prelates of the Roman Church seem to have been more men of action than of speculation, and the charter of the old Republic seems to have been transferred to the Church.

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento :
Hæ tibi erunt artes ;*

while it was in North Africa, from the time of Tertullian to Augustine, that what is properly called theology was

⁴ *Ep.* liv.

assuming the peculiar aspect which it has ever since worn in the congregations of the Latin communion. Of this illustrious line of Doctors, not the least remarkable was Thascius Cyprianus. Coming to the episcopate almost immediately from the schools of the rhetors, there are not many traces in his writings of that long and careful meditation on the subjects of divinity which appears in Tertullian and Augustine. It was rather that he seized strongly upon one or two leading ideas, and put them forward with a distinctness and energy which engraved them as it were on the minds of his contemporaries: And of these the foremost was the conception of the unity of the Church as especially dependent on the sacerdotal order.

In a former course of lectures⁵ I endeavoured to point out how naturally the earlier Fathers were led to insist upon the necessity of adhering firmly to the bishop. The first bishops, as we saw, were those long-trying and well-instructed disciples of theirs, to whom the Apostles themselves had entrusted the government of those churches, in their absence and after their decease, with a charge to deliver on the doctrine which they had received to faithful men as their successors, who in their turn should be able to teach others also. In an age when the Church was full of half-instructed persons, and when the grossest misrepresentations of Christian faith were put forward as the tradition of the Apostles, it was of the last importance to impress upon men's minds the propriety of adhering to these—the regular witnesses of the Apostles' teaching—as being themselves the successive depositaries of that teaching. The appeal to episcopal tradition in this case was of a strictly historical character. It was made within a generation or two of the source—it was made with respect to the essential outlines of the faith, and it was made not to the exclusion, but in corroboration of the testimony of Scripture. The argument in this view of it is put very forcibly by Irenæus in his great work against the

⁵ See note appended to Lecture IX. of the course on the Apostolic Church.—EDITORS.

heretics. But the sharp legal mind of Tertullian carried this argument a degree further. He wished to exclude heretics from the privilege of appealing to Scripture at all. The tradition of the Apostolic Churches as to the fundamentals of the faith amounted, according to his view of it, to what the Roman lawyers called a prescription. 'In these cases,' says he—i.e. in the case of questions affecting the very essence of the Christian religion,—'we should not appeal to the Scriptures, but the first question should be, To whom belongs the faith itself, whose are the Scriptures, from whom, and through whom, and when and to whom was delivered the doctrine by which men become Christians? . . . Now, as long as our Saviour was on earth He taught either the people publicly or his disciples in private, from whom he selected as his constant companions twelve, destined to be the teachers of the nations. Afterwards the Apostles, being inspired by the Holy Spirit, published to the world the doctrine which they had received from Him, and so founded churches in every city, from which again other churches borrowed, and are daily borrowing, the derivation of the faith and the seeds of doctrine. And by this means they also will rank as Apostolic, being the offspring of Apostolic Churches. Every family is referred to its source. And so churches thus numerous and thus great are that one Church, the primitive, from the Apostles, from which are all. Thus, all being first and all Apostolic, whilst they are one, all prove unity. There is common friendship and the appellation of brotherhood, and the mutual interchange of hospitality, all which privileges are dependent on the one tradition of the same mystery. Hence I draw this prescriptive plea, that every teaching which agrees with that of the Apostolic Churches, the sources and originals of the faith, is to be accounted true, as holding that which the churches received from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, and Christ from God.'⁶

Now this argument of Tertullian's, you will observe, though

⁶ *De Prescript. adv. Her.* xix.-xxi. This argument of Tertullian has been abridged by a few omissions of sentences not necessary for its purpose.
—EDITORS.

carried much too far when pressed to an absolute exclusion of appeal to written evidence—that is, to an exclusion of the best evidence accessible—is yet in its nature a strictly historical argument. But in the hands of Cyprian it assumes a somewhat different shape, and begins to wear more of what would be called the sacramental character. In Tertullian's idea the unity of the Church has its foundation in the unity of the faith; the several churches are one, as a race is one, by having a common origin—the tradition of the Apostolic faith which is whole and entire, one and the same in each. And in the delivery of the faith they are considered as historic witnesses, testifying what they have received. But in Cyprian's conception of the proper argument of prescription, which he urges not only against heretics but against schismatics also, the point of view is otherwise chosen. The exclusive appeal is, as by Tertullian, by him also made to the Church. But the unity of the Church is by Cyprian reduced not to the unity of the one tradition of doctrine, but to the unity of the episcopal power. Each church is one by union with one bishop, and the whole body of churches is one because the episcopate itself is one, which each bishop has whole and entire in himself. This is a mystical and scarce intelligible notion, which is thus propounded by Cyprian:—

‘Divisions and heresies,’ he says, ‘arise from this cause, that men do not recur to the original source of truth.⁷ If this were done, there would be no need of long discourse or arguments. The proof is short and easy. The Lord says to Peter, ‘Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it,’ &c., and again, after His resurrection, ‘Feed my sheep.’ He builds his Church upon one. And although he gives to all his Apostles equal power, and says, ‘As my Father sent me,’ &c., and ‘to whom ye remit,’ &c., yet for a shewing out of unity he

⁷ *De Unit. Eccl.* c. i. ‘Hoc eo fit . . . dum ad veritatis originem non reditur, nec caput queritur, nec Magistri celestis doctrina servatur.’ The sequel is quoted again in the second lecture of the next course, and we shall append the original of the most important sentences in that place.—EDITORS.

by his authority so ordered it, that the origin of this same unity should begin from one. Doubtless the other Apostles were what Peter was, endowed with equal honour and power, but the beginning is made from unity, that the Church may be exhibited as one. . . . This unity we who preside in the Church should maintain, so as to prove the episcopate to be one and indivisible. 'The episcopate is one, a part of which is held by each as heir in full of the whole.' The words in the last sentence are self-contradictory. *Cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*. A man was said to hold *in solidum* when his right extended over the whole inheritance. But to have *partem in solidum* seems an expression very remote from common understanding, and I cannot find anything in the commentators that satisfactorily clears it up. Most of them affect to understand it, but they certainly do not succeed in explaining it to me. I can only guess that, by combining these contradictory expressions, Cyprian meant to say that under one view each bishop had the whole episcopate in himself, though, under another view, he had only part. Such should be the concord and harmony of administration by all the bishops, each in his particular sphere having a regard to the interests of all the rest, as to make the whole episcopate but one in its action, as if it were but one and the same bishop, who was acting according to the several circumstances of each portion of the flock in each several diocese. The episcopate is thus in its nature the supreme government of the whole body of Christians; the particular administration of this in each church is committed to each several bishop, and in this respect it may be said that he has a part. But then in his administration of that part he is interested for, and bound to consult, the good of the whole; and, as his care is thus universal, he may be said to hold *in solidum*.

But further we have seen how Tertullian explains the Apostolicity of the Church. The first churches are Apostolical as having received the faith direct from the Apostles, the others *ex traduce* as having received it from those primitive foundations. Now, Cyprian appears to have transferred this

thought to his own scheme of episcopal unity. Peter was the symbol of unity among the Apostles, and the chair of Peter was in a similar mystical way the symbol of unity among the Apostolic sees. Thus in the famous passage of his fifty-fifth Epistle, he calls the Roman Church the chair of Peter, and the principal Church from which sacerdotal unity took its beginning. But the symbolical primacy which he thus allowed to the Roman see was certainly not greater than that which he allowed to Peter himself; and that this was little or nothing we have already seen. The other Apostles, you have heard him say, were what Peter was, endowed with the same power and honour. And again, in his seventy-first epistle, Peter, whom the Lord chose first, and on whom He built His Church, never claimed to have the primacy, or to be obeyed by those who were called after him; and this he gives as a reason why the Bishop of Rome should challenge no such superiority. All, then, that Cyprian seems to have allowed to the Roman see was the honour of being in the succession of its prelates a type or symbol, as Peter himself was, of the unity of the episcopate. But to make this a ground for usurping any authority over other bishops would have been to violate the very symbol which alone constituted its peculiar prerogative. It was the type and symbol of an episcopate free and independent, the full dignity of which was held equally by every bishop, as completely as if he were the only bishop in the world. It could therefore only be by shewing forth such an episcopate as this that the see of Rome could answer its symbolic purpose. By seeking to domineer over other churches the whole propriety of the symbol would be violated, and quite a different kind of episcopate typified from that which Christ endowed in the person of Peter.

The truth is that Cyprian's conception of the unity of the whole Church was very much taken from what he saw before his eyes in the North African Province. All the bishops of that province were of equal power. They had no Metropolitan properly so called. But the Bishop of Carthage had a sort of primacy, probably because Carthage had been the

centre from which the Gospel had spread to the rest. In virtue of this pre-eminence the Bishop of Carthage took the lead in all their proceedings, and was consulted in all weighty matters; and, when not directly consulted, had a right to interpose his advice; but there lay no appeal to him. He could bind no one by his decision, and everyone was perfectly free to follow his advice or not, just as he saw fit.

Now, such a federal centre of communication for the whole Church does Cyprian seem to have regarded Rome to be, in virtue of the symbolic character inherited by its bishops from the Apostle Peter—a pre-eminence this which, when kept within such bounds, was not peculiarly dangerous, but which it was very hard indeed to keep within such bounds.

For the question immediately occurs, Is such a fixed centre necessary to the unity of the Church? If it be, then plainly the bishop who forms this centre has the ball at his foot. He has only to impose his own conditions, and steadily persist in excommunicating all the rest of the world till they are complied with; and complied with they must be by all who, with Cyprian, regard union with the visible Church as indispensably necessary to salvation.

Now Cyprian's own conduct makes it evident that he did not regard the centrality of the Roman Church as thus absolutely necessary. However high his rhetoric might reach when he was in good humour with the Pope and found him a useful ally against heretics and schismatics, the Pope was soon taught the true value of such compliments when circumstances changed.

And, if the honest truth must be owned, I must confess that I fear Cyprian's early rhetorical education had not improved his sincerity.

LECTURE VIII.

*RISE OF ASCETICISM AND THE HIGH ESTEEM OF
CELIBACY.*

GENTLEMEN,—When we think of the general state of society in the first three centuries of the Christian era, we can imagine the feelings with which a convert to the new religion would regard the contrast between his former and his present condition; between the world in which he had been moving, and the very different sphere into which he was now brought. ‘The world’ and ‘the Church’ would be, to his eye, separated by a boundary whose strongly marked line it was impossible to mistake. On the one side ‘the darkness’ of ignorance, and the ‘gross darkness’ of vice, would be seen like the thick cloud which covered Egypt, spread over the whole surface of society; while, on the other, like a second Goshen, the Lord had arisen, and His glory had appeared. If we turn our eyes to the picture of those times which their own poets, historians, and even moralists, present to us, we shall perceive at once that error and profligacy had mixed themselves with all the institutions, not only of religion, but of civil polity; nay, of ordinary business and common daily life. Falsehood and vice had poisoned, as it were, the very atmosphere in which men lived and breathed. They were diffused around men like the air—to use Paul’s strong image—and the prince of the power of that air had made his pernicious energy so felt in every point, that the whole world seemed his, and even visibly marked out as his, by the emblems of his authority planted in every spot, from the throne of the Cæsars to the hearth of the humblest peasant.

‘Imagine yourself,’ says Cyprian, addressing a newly baptized convert, ‘imagine yourself for a while withdrawn to the lofty top of some high mountain, and view, as from thence, the face of things as they lie beneath you. Turn your eyes all around, and free yourself from contact with the earth, contemplate the agitations of this heaving scene of life. Then you will be smitten with pity for the world, and, reminded of your own lot, your gratitude to God, your joy for your own escape, will grow warmer within your breast. Behold the roads beset by robbers, the seas infested with pirates, and war raging everywhere. The whole earth reeks with mutual slaughter. Homicide, which, when committed by individuals is called a crime, is esteemed a virtue when carried on by public sanction; and the vastness of the scale upon which cruelty is perpetrated gains impunity for all its enormities.

‘If you turn your glance to the cities, you will see a throng more melancholy to behold than the most desolate wilderness. A gladiatorial show is being prepared, that blood may gratify the appetite of cruel eyes. The body is carefully nourished with the strongest food, the nerves strung, the sinews confirmed, that the wretch may perish a more costly victim. Man is slain for man’s amusement, and the very dexterity of slaying is gained by long practice and professed as an art. . . . And what a spectacle is that, when those whom no judge has condemned expose themselves to wild beasts! In the vigour of their age, in the bloom of manly beauty, with comely persons and in rich apparel, decked while still living for a voluntary funeral, the wretched creatures glory in their sufferings. Fathers look on upon the combat of their own sons. The brother is in the arena, and the sister sits by to witness it. Perhaps it is some grand spectacle, and the price of admission has been raised; yet the mother pays for a place where she may see the agony of her child.

‘Turn your eyes thence to another, but not less disgraceful spectacle. Look at the theatre, and you will behold matter at once of grief and shame. The player’s part is to

revive the memory of ancient crimes, and preserve wickedness from being forgotten. Every age is reminded that that which has been done may be done again, and the crimes of former generations become the examples of the present. The indecent gestures of the crimes are a school of vice. The spectator gloats over images which renew the memory of former, or suggest the anticipation of future profligacy. Adultery is learned while it is looked upon. Public authority plays the pandar to vice, and though the matron may have gone chaste to the show, she cannot return chaste.

‘But oh, if from that lofty watch-tower you could penetrate into private dwellings, if you could unlock the closed doors of their chambers, and open to the eye the secret recesses of their house, you would see them acting deeds of shame which a modest eye could not even witness, you would see what it is a crime even to look upon; what these men, blinded with the frenzy of vice, deny that they do, and yet hurry to perpetrate. Here things are done which even the doers regard with disgust. He who is such himself, blames others for being so. The impure upbraids the impure, and fancies that he has escaped a witness, while he bears the most terrible witness in his own bosom.

‘But after the spectacle of roads beset with robbers, of wars scattered over the whole globe, of shows either sanguinary or impure, of brutal lusts either openly displayed in the brothels or hidden within the domestic walls, you might think perhaps that the Forum at least was exempt from the general reign of iniquity, free from the assaults of violence and from the contamination of impurity. Thither, then, direct your view. You will see there even more objects of abhorrence, and be glad to avert your eyes from such a scene. There are, indeed, the laws inscribed on brazen tablets, but crime is busy in their presence. The court seems mad with the rage and outcries of contending parties. The spear, the sword, the executioner, are at hand; the gouge, the rack, the furnace; more instruments of torture than there are limbs in the tortured frame. Who, meanwhile, shall succour

the oppressed? The patron? He betrays the cause which he should advocate, and deceives his credulous client. The judge? His office is a trade, and its gains are from the sale of a verdict. No one fears the laws who has money enough to bribe their ministers.'

'The only calm and trustworthy tranquillity, then,' he goes on to say, 'the one solid, firm, and perpetual security, is to be found in escaping from these storms of an unquiet world, and casting anchor in the harbour of salvation. It constrains us to love, when we are privileged to know what we shall be, and condemn what we have been. And this, the highest dignity, the greatest power of man, requires not to be won by bribes, or by canvassing, or by force. It is the free and ready gift of God. As freely as the sun diffuses light, the fountain discharges its stream, and the cloud pours forth its shower, so freely does the Heavenly Spirit shed its influences. As soon as the soul looking upon heaven has recognised its Maker, rising from the ground and soaring above every earthly power it begins to be what it believes itself to be. Only do thou, whom this heavenly cause has marked as a good soldier in the spiritual camp, do thou keep unblemished the sober discipline of virtue. Be constant in prayer and reading. In prayer converse with God, in reading let Him converse with thee. Roofs fretted with gold, and edifices encrusted with costliest marbles will henceforth seem mean in thine eyes. Thou wilt know that thou thyself art to be decked with richer ornaments, and that a better house is that which the Lord has occupied as His temple, and in which the Holy Spirit has begun to dwell. This building shall never fall to ruin through time, nor shall its ornaments ever lose their lustre. It remains for ever fresh, with unstained dignity and lasting splendour. It can never be destroyed. It shall only be moulded into a yet more illustrious beauty, when the body shall be again restored, and the whole work of Redemption consummated for ever.¹

I was unwilling, gentlemen, materially to abridge this

¹ *Ep. i., Ad Donatum.*

striking passage, because I was sure that nothing could so well convey to you an idea of the feelings of the early Christians as their own language, and I was glad to have the opportunity of giving you a specimen of that language in the case of Cyprian. I had spoken, you remember, of the influence which his commanding rhetoric gave him in the Church, and I think you will allow that it is not surprising that he who could write thus forcibly should have exercised no slight influence over man's minds; and even from this small extract you will judge for yourselves whether a clumsy forger of the fifth or sixth century, when Christianity had been long established throughout the Roman Empire, would have been likely to have imitated so happily the sentiments natural to a convert from Paganism in the third. But these remarks are only by the way. Let me pursue my main subject by observing that the state of society, such as it has been described in the world around, was apt to have a mischievous influence upon Christians in two opposite ways.

In the first place there was danger of a revulsion towards the extreme of ascetic fanaticism. It is then, we know, when the taint of general corruption has spread itself through all the relations of life, the common business as well as the common pleasures of the world, it is then that he, who would escape 'the corruption that is in the world through lust,' is most of all tempted to confound what is lawful with what is excessive, and to proscribe entirely enjoyments and occupations which he sees only perverted and abused. Thus the severer of the early Christians condemned as profane such innocent things as garlands on the head, perfumed ointments, and even the arts of sculpture and painting. Tertullian joins together the two crimes of painting and marrying a second time, in the long list of supposed enormities which he ascribes to Hermogenes: 'Pingit illicitè, nubit assiduè: legem Dei in libidinem defendit, in artem contemnit, bis falsarius et cauterio et stylo.'² And in some respects this thoroughgoing asceticism was an easier thing than more rational temperance.

² *Ad Hermog.* c. i.

We all know that it is more easy to get a drunkard to abstain entirely than to be merely sober. It is more easy to get the debauchee to retire to a desert or a monastery,

To leave a world where strong temptations try,
And, since 'tis hard to combat, learn to fly,

than to teach him 'to use this world without abusing it.'

The truth is that when we draw an arbitrary line of our own we may make it as strong and broadly marked as we please. But the divisions which nature makes between things are not thus strongly defined, throughout. Classes of things which in their outer verge, so to speak, are as different as the colours of the rainbow, melt gradually into each other as they approach, till it becomes a matter of much nicety in particular cases to tell where one ends and the other begins. This superior sharpness and precision of definition is the one grand advantage which the artificial classifications in botany, for example, and natural history generally, have over the natural. In any natural classification it seems next to impossible to find any fixed limit where the line terminating each species can be drawn with certainty, though, taking the classes in the gross or judging of them by their types, no things can be more dissimilar from one another. The same difficulty pursues us in a natural system of morals. The boundaries between right and wrong in general are clear and distinct; but when we descend to particular cases, such is the complexity of human affairs that it often becomes an intricate question to disentangle, and a matter of much difficulty to arrive at a clear perception of, what we are absolutely bound to do; and prudence therefore will often demand that we should hold back from indulgences which we have not certainly discovered to be wrong.

But besides the greater facility of preserving the limits of an arbitrary line of demarcation, asceticism has this great advantage, that, like vice itself, it gives a particular passion its full swing. The tendency of all our passions is to go beyond the bounds which reason would prescribe. The mere feeling of abhorrence of vice itself cannot adequately distinguish its

own proper objects. It naturally transfers itself rapidly, like all our other feelings, from that which is properly vicious to everything associated with what is vicious; and he who endeavours to curb and restrain it, must, in doing so, forego for a while the strong aid which such an impulse gives him; just as he who in a combat seeks to keep his resentment within due bounds must forego whatever advantages a blind and indiscriminating fury gives to the savage warrior. Remorse, again, or that self-hatred which we feel when we have done wrong, is in its nature as little capable of setting bounds to itself as anger against our neighbour; and he who, like some of the ascetic penitents, gives way unreservedly to this impulse towards self-punishment will, no doubt, act with an intensity and energy which strong and highly excited feeling always supplies. To act from feeling is in itself easier than to act from reason. Indeed, we are creatures so made that in almost every case we need, at least up to a certain point, the aid of feelings in their own nature irrational. And when these are called in to the aid of virtue, we are apt to forget that such auxiliaries themselves require to be restrained, lest they become too powerful for the safety of that principle in whose cause they were enlisted; and we are prone to imagine that reason, when she curbs what we commonly regard as the virtuous passions, is herself betraying us into vice. For a long time all the danger seems to lie on one side; we think that we can never get too far from the prevailing vices, and it is only gradually that our eyes are opened by experience to the perils of the opposite extreme.

We have a striking example of this in the excessive overvaluing of celibacy in the early Church. There is a peculiar sense of shame connected with all the grosser corporeal enjoyments, which is very apt to be confounded with a sense of guilt and moral defilement—the more so, as in the case of real crime it mingles itself indissolubly with that sense, and acts, and was doubtless meant to act, strongly as a guard against violations of propriety in cases where some of our most urgent passions impel us towards them. In the old religions, indeed,

the idea of purity as attached to abstinence from sexual intercourse was rather ceremonial than moral. It was a sort of ritual pollution which such indulgences were supposed to produce. The priest and worshipper were obliged to a physical abstinence during the immediate period of their service; and where such a service was considered as lasting during life, it was often customary to select a person in whom age had extinguished this appetite naturally, or whom drugs or mutilation had rendered incapable of gratifying it. But this coarse view of the honour of abstinence, which confined itself only to bodily acts, mingled with another deeply seated in human nature, and which arises from some principle within us, which has been found acting strongly in almost every age and clime—I mean the view of matter as the source of evil, as something tending inherently to vice—and of goodness as consisting in abstraction from all corporeal influences. This view was the popular philosophic one in the times which we are considering, and it had tinged the whole moral language of that age. The Gnostics eagerly caught it up, and modified Christianity to suit it. And though no one who had any sincere regard to the teaching of the Apostles could possibly entertain such a view in all its speculative distinctness, yet we find it gradually, from a very early period, insinuating itself into the minds of orthodox believers, and gaining power in each successive century, till at last, in the lips of Jerome and Gregory Nyssene, we can scarcely distinguish the language of the Catholic Christian from that of the Manichean heretic.

When Paul in some cases prefers the state of celibacy to that of marriage, it is never, you will observe, on the ground of any superior *purity*. It is on the ground of expediency—of exemption from peculiar temptations—of freedom from peculiarly ingrossing cares. The ideas of moral or ceremonial pollution never enter into his conceptions of the marriage union, nor those of any special purity in these respects into the view which he takes of virginity. But the Apostle had scarcely been laid in his grave when very different

language began to be ascribed to him. Here is a homily which a legend of the very first century puts into his mouth :

‘Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are they who have kept the flesh pure, for they shall become the temples of God. Blessed are the bodies and the spirits of the virgins, for they shall please God, and shall not lose the reward of their chastity.’³

Nor is this language confined to such suspicious documents as this. Very soon we begin to discover that such words as purity and chastity have acquired an appropriated sense to virginal purity and virginal chastity. ‘If any one,’ says Ignatius (‘Ad Polyc.’ v.), ‘is able to remain *in purity* (*ἐν ἀγνείᾳ*) to the honour of the Lord of his flesh, let him remain so without boasting.’ ‘We see,’ says Justin Martyr—for in each age, as I said, there is an advance in the tone of the teachers of the Church—‘we see men preserving virginity, some during their whole lives, and some for a long period; so as that, by them, is wholly dissolved the work of marriage which has become sinful by means of lust. And our Lord was for this very reason born of a Virgin that he might destroy birth by means of licentious desire.’⁴ This surely is very strong language indeed, and we cannot wonder therefore when we find Justin’s disciple Tatian carrying out such views to their full extent, and proscribing marriage altogether as the work of the devil.⁵ This, however, was to run into direct heresy. The prevailing view in the Church was to regard marriage as a union which might possibly be innocent, but which could only be innocent by such a separation of it from human passion as was practically impossible. The best excuse that Jerome can think of for it is that it is necessary to produce virgins, and that a lower order of Christians is thus needful as breeders to supply the Church with its proper aristocracy. ‘Laudo nuptias, laudo conjugium, sed quia mihi virgines generant.’ The unclean beasts, he observes, went by pairs into the Ark, the clean by sevens.⁶

³ *Acta Pauli et Thecæ.*

⁴ *E Primâ Parte Lib. de Resur.* Apud Grabe, *Spicil.* ii. p. 180.

⁵ *Fragm.* apud Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. p. 460, Syllburg.

⁶ *Hieronymi Epistolæ* (ed. Erasmi.), *Ad Demetrianum, De Custodiâ*

The odd one I suppose was consecrated to celibacy. But these are the extravagancies of a later age. Let us pursue our historical deduction. 'Having,' says Athenagoras, 'the hope of eternal life, we despise the things of this life and all in which the animal soul takes pleasure. Each of us confines himself to his own wife, and marries, not to satisfy desire, but to beget children. Many of us, both men and women, have grown old in a state of celibacy, through the hope that they shall hereby be the more closely united to God. But if the condition of eunuchs and virgins is more acceptable to God, and even thoughts and desires exclude us from His presence; surely we shall renounce the act when we renounce the very wish.' 'Either we remain single, or contract but one marriage; for a second marriage is decorous adultery.'⁷ Such was the prevailing tone of the Doctors of the Church, whom, as time went on, it would really appear as if nothing but the necessity of keeping up a battle against the Gnostics, induced ever to drop a good word in favour of marriage. It was the necessary result of such views that persons living in religious celibacy acquired a kind of aristocratic rank in the Church as a superior order of Christians. Accordingly we find the virgins already noticed as a peculiar and recognised order in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. But by the middle of the third century, the writings of Cyprian disclose them to us as flourishing in the possession of the most ample privileges. Even before his time the peculiar honours attached to them had become a temptation and a snare. These religious ladies, it seems, had, with the usual subtlety of female vanity, discovered a refined interpretation of Paul's command, that women should be covered in the congregation. They observed that the letter of the law applied only to *γυναῖκες*—*mulieres*—i.e.

Virginitatis, p. 110. The latter sentence is as follows: 'Animalia quæ in Arcam Noë bina inducuntur, immunda sunt. Impar numerus est mundus.' The homely Saxon word *breeders* is plainly adopted to represent Jerome's coarseness. It does not sound more unpleasant to us than his word *generant* sounded to Latin-speakers, though *generate* sounds more delicate to us because it is not native English.—EDITORS.

⁷ *Leg. pro Christ.* 33.

they contended, to married women. Now, they went on to argue, the Apostle himself lays it down that there is a distinction between a virgin and a wife. *Μεμέρισται ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἡ πᾶρθενος*—‘divisa est mulier et virgo’—and therefore the rule proper to the one should not be construed as applying to the other. Hence they claimed the privilege of appearing unveiled in the public assemblies, and displaying freely the beauty of their sacred features and the luxuriance of their holy tresses. This it is which gave rise to Tertullian’s very curious treatise, ‘De virginibus velandis,’ which incidentally discloses to us a fact which need not at all surprise us. It is this, that though the hateful discipline of irrevocable vows of celibacy had not yet made its way into the Church, yet the very circumstance that the purpose of celibacy was published, and that the professors of it thereby attained a superior rank and became objects of special admiration, acted like constraint in all its most odious consequences. What woman who had once taken her place in the holy choir of sacred virgins could ever voluntarily expose herself to derision and contempt by quitting it, and avowing that she preferred what were called the pleasures of the world to such an elevated position as she had once held. The consequences were such as a knowledge of human nature would lead us to anticipate. I dare not translate the coarse language of the indignant Presbyter; but you will gather from it that in too many cases the fear of losing reputation became in these women such an overmastering passion that, rather than avow their weakness, they had recourse to murder in its most hateful and unnatural form, to conceal the evidence of that which nothing but their own obstinate vanity had made criminal.

I have said that in these times the vow of celibacy in the later sense of the word was unknown. And accordingly, both Tertullian and Cyprian urge the virgins to marry if they find themselves unable to contain. But after all, was this much more than a cruel mockery? ‘The virgins,’ says Cyprian, ‘are the brides of Christ; their bodies are consecrated to Him; they are the flower of the Church,

the more illustrious part of the Lord's flock; the more their number is increased, the more the Church's glory is increased. They are those who have devoted themselves to God, both in flesh and spirit (as if the married had not!); they are the participators of a life truly angelical.⁸ Is it in female nature to abdicate such a position as this, and avail herself of a contemptuous permission to return to the world and withdraw herself from her spiritual bridegroom? The consequence of the praises lavished upon virginity was that multitudes were drawn in to profess it whose hearts were just as worldly as the profane married women. The virgins were the best dressed and most showy part of the congregation; the eyes of all were upon them, every heart fluttered at their approach. Living in the midst of the world they found themselves exposed to peculiar dangers; and the issue was that, as Cyprian passionately exclaims, 'The Church has frequently to bemoan the fall of its virgins.'⁹ It could not be otherwise; but experience had not yet taught men wisdom. The false view of celibacy, which was the root of all these disorders, was still not only kept to, but exaggerated still more and more; the source of the evil was retained, but desperate efforts were made to repress at least its manifestations. A sterner discipline was introduced. The consecrated maid was called upon to separate herself entirely from the world; the vow was made irrevocable, and the custody of her person transferred to a jailor. Bolts and bars were called in to preserve these blossoms of the Church's purity from contamination, and it was hoped that by such rigorous methods the glory of religion might be kept unsullied. But alas! the history of the middle ages is a fearful comment upon the insufficiency of all such precautions; and those who so loudly commend the later nuns in comparison with the primitive virgins, have, I suspect, much to learn of the state of things prior to the Reformation.

⁸ *De Hab. Virg.* c. i.

⁹ *Ibid.* c. iii.

FRAGMENTS.

These two fragments on the post-Apostolical miracles seem to belong to the Course on the Early Church. They do not appear to have been ever completed in a written form. The first ends in the middle of a leaf and was probably finished extemporaneously, the second breaks off in the midst of a sentence; but nothing further has been discovered amongst the Bishop's papers. Both are interesting so far as they extend:—EDITORS.

POST-APOSTOLICAL MIRACLES.

I.

GENTLEMEN,—The question concerning the continuance of miraculous powers in the early ages of the Primitive Church was at all times a curious, and to some extent an important one; but it has latterly acquired even fresh interest from accidental circumstances. In the noonday of the nineteenth century, we have ourselves been suddenly overtaken by the phantoms which we had fondly supposed to have passed away with the night of the middle ages—and in the midst of railroads and steamboats, and electric telegraphs and trigonometrical surveys, and the general diffusion of useful and of useless knowledge, in an age when the schoolmaster is abroad, and the schoolboy at home in scientific truths that formerly were known only to the sage—in such an age as this a scene of thaumaturgy has been suddenly opened upon us in common life, which can, I think, be compared to nothing but the odd effect of harlequin's tricks in a pantomime, when he bounces in upon some quiet citizen in his counting-house or dull farmer's family in a cottage. Nor is the belief in such marvels confined to the over-ardent and enthusiastic votaries of religion; it is found as strong, if not stronger, in those who believe in hardly anything else. Not only do we find

the zealots of the Church of Rome coming eagerly forward to espouse and champion all the legends which till lately were deemed some of its worst reproaches ; not only do we find such men ostentatiously proclaiming their faith in dolorous or ecstatic virgins who live and walk on air, in the winking of a Madonna's image or the melting of a martyr's blood ; but we find those who eminently pride themselves on being philosophers—those who have scornfully rejected all the evidences of revealed, and even of natural religion—even such men and such women, of terribly strong nerves and adamantine intellect, do we find smitten with the contagious taste for the marvellous, and earnestly persuaded of the reality of occurrences, compared with which the miracles of Scripture are but as ordinary events. It seems, in short, at first view a matter of grave doubt whether now, in these the latter times, with all the accumulated experience of five thousand years and more, the world knows anything for certain of the commonest laws by which it is governed. One walks with awe and apprehension amidst the trivial objects of everyday life, as if they had been all touched by an enchanter's wand and there was no knowing what they might do next. You tremble lest the mute creatures which you have known so long, should of a sudden, like Balaam's ass, begin to talk to you in notes of solemn warning. You look with dark suspicion at even your household furniture. You cannot tell when the very table at which you eat your meals may break into a contredance or enter into a conversation with you ; the bed on which you lie may take you up and walk. You know not whether the knock at your door is a postman or a spirit—a dead letter or a dead friend. You cannot even call your limbs or your very mind your own ; what seem your actions may be the result of the strong volitions of some powerful biologist at the antipodes, who sways you by a spell more potent than that of Michael Scot, who

When in Salamanca's cave,
Him listed his magic wand to wave,
The bells would ring in Notre Dame.

POST-APOSTOLICAL MIRACLES.

II.

GENTLEMEN,—I observed in my last lecture that the miracles which fall under our notice on the present occasion may be conveniently considered in three general divisions:—

1. The miracles of the Apostolic age. 2. The post-Apostolic miracles down to the fourth century. 3. The series of miracles which began in the fourth century.

These three classes of miracles stand, I think, wholly separate from, and independent of, each other.

The Apostolic miracles form a series complete in themselves, with a definitely marked limit. They consist, with one or two exceptions, of cases of the exercise of standing powers or gifts residing in the Apostles themselves, or by them conferred by a regular and well-known rite, the imposition of hands, upon their disciples. This dispensation, therefore, of miracles would naturally terminate with the last of those gifted persons on whom the Apostles themselves had laid their hands; since it appears plain that, in the law of that dispensation, no provision was made for continuing it further, none but the Apostles having the power of bestowing miraculous gifts on their successors. The properly Apostolic miracles, therefore, being a stream derived from fountains that were soon visibly stopped, cannot have long outlasted the sealing of its springs.

Hence if the post-Apostolic miracles existed at all, as true miracles, we must regard them as a new dispensation, an after gift bestowed by a different law, and confessedly on a smaller scale. They are spoken of by the Fathers of the second and third centuries as vestiges of the Apostolic powers still lingering among a few. Indeed it is not clear but that, in some of the testimonies which I cited for you, some of the miraculous gifts appealed to may have been exercised by men still surviving, who had derived them from the Apostles.

When Irenæus, for example, speaks generally of having heard some gifted brethren speaking in the church in various kinds of tongues, we cannot be sure but that he may allude to the period of his own youth, when he was the friend of Polycarp, and may have had ample opportunities of meeting with several of the immediate disciples of the Apostles. But though this explanation will reach some parts of some of the testimonies, it will not extend to others. And therefore, as I said with respect to the bulk of these phenomena, if we admit them, which I for my part am not disposed to do, as real miracles at all, we must regard them as a second and distinct miraculous dispensation, administered by quite a different law from that which usually regulated those of the Apostolic series.¹

¹ The testimonies mentioned above were no doubt cited in the unwritten part of the preceding Lecture. The writers who might have met with the immediate disciples of the Apostles, were Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, and Irenæus. Justin, *Dial.* 82, says: 'Even to this day prophetic gifts exist among us;' and in 88, 'With us you may see both females and males having gifts from the Spirit of God.' In 39 he says that still daily there were many converted, who receive severally gifts, as they deserve; 'for one receives a spirit of understanding, another of counsel, another of fortitude, another of healing, another of foreknowledge, another of teaching, another of the fear of God.' In *Apol.* II. 6, and elsewhere, he speaks of the expulsion of demons. Theophilus, in II. 8, also alleges the expulsion of demons. Irenæus says, II. 56, that the heretics are 'far from raising the dead as our Lord did, and the Apostles by prayer, and many in the brotherhood; oftentimes, on account of some urgent need, the whole Church, here or there, having begged with much fasting and purity, it has turned back the spirit of the dead, and the man has been granted to the prayers of the saints.' And in 57 he adds the casting out demons, having visions and foreknowledge, healing the sick by imposition of hands, as well as what he had said of raising the dead. It was impossible to tell the number of gifts which were daily exercised for the benefit of the nations. In V. 6 he says: 'We hear in the Church many brethren having prophetic gifts, and speaking in all kinds of tongues by the Spirit, and bringing to light the secrets of men to advantage, and expounding the mysteries of God.' Quadratus, who presented his Apology to Hadrian, was reported, as Eusebius, III. 37, informs us, to have had a prophetic gift. In a passage of his Apology preserved by Eusebius, IV. 3, he says that of those who had been healed by our Lord, and had risen from the dead, some had survived even to his own time. Irenæus was a young man in Hadrian's reign.

But then, though in the respect that I have indicated—namely, that of not being personally transmitted from the imposition of the Apostles' hands—the miracles of the second class varied widely from those of the first, yet in another respect, in their general character and aspect, these two classes must be allowed to bear a considerable resemblance to one another. The post-Apostolic miracles are a kind of reflection of the image of the Apostolic. They consist principally of visions; of prophetic utterances; of cures; and the expulsion of demons. And the cures and the expulsions were, so far as we collect in a great penury of circumstantial details, said to be performed in much the same grave and simple way as that in which the Apostles and Apostolic men performed similar wonders, generally by prayer and the mere invocation of the name of Jesus, sometimes accompanied by the use of oil. And so far as they attested anything at all, these miracles seem merely to have attested such important things as the falsity of heathenism, the fundamental truths of Christianity, and the present power of the Great Head and Governor of the Church, in whose name only they were wrought. These, therefore, in their moral character, though not in their law, certainly wear something of the guise of a continuation of the Apostolic miracles, and if not lights kindled from the Apostolic torch, seem at least reflections of it.

But the case seems widely altered when we come to the third class of which I spoke—the new dispensation of miracles which begins in the fourth century. These resemble the Apostolic neither in their moral character nor in their law. We cannot find in them, any more than in their immediate predecessors, any such law of transmission by personal succession as regulated the gifts of the Apostolic Church; nor in their general aspect and complexion do they bear any family likeness whatever to anything which had previously appeared, except—and this is well worthy of remark—except the pretended miracles of heathenism. The unlikeness of these miracles to the Scripture miracles is, indeed, not only admitted

but largely insisted on by Dr. Newman, their latest and most ingenious advocate, in a striking passage in which he compares the contrast between the two classes to the contrast felt at seeing the savage and grotesque creatures of the desert assembled in a menagerie amidst the beautiful and regular forms of civilised life. This, by one of those extraordinary reaches of amusing subtlety in which he delights, he seems to regard as an analogical argument for their being real miracles. For since monkeys and men are made by the same Creator, it is reasonable to suppose, he thinks, that the miracles of the fifth and of the first century were wrought by the same Being.² It must be allowed, I . . .

² The following sentences from Cardinal Newman's *Essay on Miracles*, published separately in 1843, are what the Bishop referred to in the last paragraph of this unhappily incomplete Lecture :—'To persons who have not commonly the opportunity of witnessing for themselves this great variety of the divine works, there is something very strange and startling, it may even be said, unsettling, in the first view of nature as it is. To take, for instance, the case of animal nature, let us consider the effect produced upon the mind on seeing for the first time the many tribes of the animal world, as we find them brought together for the purposes of science or exhibition in our own country. . . . Many persons will be moved in a very singular way on going for the first time, or after some interval, to a menagerie. . . . The mind loses its balance, and it is not too much to say that, in some cases, it even falls into a sort of scepticism,' p. xlvii. 'There is far greater difference between the appearance of a horse or an eagle and a monkey, or a lion and a mouse, as they meet our eye, than between the most august of the divine manifestations in Scripture, and the meanest and most fanciful of those legends which we are accustomed without further examination to cast aside,' p. xlix.—EDITORS.

THIRD COURSE

Rise and Progress of the Papacy

WITH

REMARKS ON THE MONASTIC ORDERS

LECTURE I.

THE THEOCRATIC CHARACTER OF THE EMPIRE.

GENTLEMEN,—I propose, during the present term, to draw your attention to the rise and progress of that Papal system, the intolerable abuses of which produced, in the way of reaction, the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Now the Papacy may be considered as having a double antagonism; one to the liberty of thought and conscience of individuals, the other to its rival, the Imperial power.

The latter of these antagonisms is, I conceive, the one least perfectly apprehended in general by Protestants; and yet it is quite impossible to form a correct conception of the true posture of things in former, or even in the present times, without an understanding of its true nature.

When we commonly think and speak of the struggle between the Popedom and the Empire, we regard and describe it, if I am not much mistaken, precisely as a struggle between the spiritual and the temporal power. Now such a description is to a certain extent true, but it is not the whole truth. The Empire was not, I conceive, a merely secular, any more than the Papacy was a merely spiritual power. The Empire had its spiritual aspect, as the Papacy had its temporal aspect. The struggle between them may be described imperfectly in various ways, according to the various points of view from which it is regarded. It may be described as a contest between a temporal and a spiritual power, or as a contest between two temporal or between two spiritual powers. As the Church, on the one side, did not confine itself to merely spiritual weapons, such as anathemas, interdicts, and excom-

munications, but raised armies and fleets in its defence, so the weapons of the Empire were not so merely carnal as we commonly suppose them, but drawn to a great extent from the armoury of religious opinion. Viewed at one moment, when the adverse factions of Guelfs and Ghibellines were making every little state of Italy a battle-field for their armies, the contest might wear the aspect of a mere wrestling for temporal sway between adverse temporal princes. Considered at another, and from an equally partial point of view, we might look upon it as a keen controversy between opposite schools of jurists or divines. And regarded from yet another, we might describe it as a conflict between the priest and the prince; the forces of this world on one side, and those of the next upon the other. But all these would be sadly imperfect conceptions of the truth.

It must be granted, indeed, that as time went on, the last of these views became, in the West of Europe, very nearly the correct one. The Empire became every day more and more stripped of its more venerable and spiritual attributes, and stood out more and more distinctly as a mere secular power, uninfluenced by any religious zeal, and aiming at mere temporal ends. But this was not the original idea of the Christian Empire, as it was sought to be realised by Justinian or Charlemagne. If we look around us in the modern world for something like their conception of the Empire, we shall find it in a very conspicuous position in that vast barbaric power which has strangely inherited the traditions of the Christian Empire, and towards which the eyes of all Europe, and I may say of almost all the world, are now directed. I mean the Russian autocracy, in which the Emperor appears so to engross and impersonate all the functions at once of the Church and the Commonwealth, as to remind one of the odd figure that you may see in the title-page of Hobbes' 'Leviathan'—a king made up bodily of a multitude of little living men who compose his limbs, and who wields a sword in one hand and a crozier in the other, and is surrounded by all the instruments of power—the cannon and the law, the artillery of

the field and the logic of the Schools, the solemn doctor of the Church and the fierce warrior of the camp.

In truth, what lies at the bottom equally of the Papal and the Imperial system was the fundamental conception of Christendom as one vast theocratic state, governed in absolute unity by one supreme vicegerent of heaven, to whom all other powers were subservient; and the grand question as between those two systems was, which had the best claim to this transcendent office, the Emperor or the Pope.

Now, undoubtedly, setting out with the fundamental conception, common to both systems, of Christendom as a great theocratic state, there was much of plausible topics on the surface of the matter to be alleged in favour of the imperial view. It seemed to rise naturally enough out of the old notion of civil society, as in its nature *κύριον*—supreme and all-embracing. If the charge of the magistrate be to provide not merely for man's physical good, but for his good in general, for his highest perfection, then religion, as well as all other human interests, or rather religion pre-eminently above all other interests, falls within the province of the magistrate, the idea of a Christian Church merges in the idea of a Christian State, and the ministers of religion fall as much under the control of the chief magistrate as the ministers of the law or the police. In all the forms of heathenism the magistrate had held the priesthood in complete subordination; and though the Church had hitherto stood in marked distinction to this general subservience, that posture of antagonism seemed to have been forced upon it by the circumstance that the magistrate had been hitherto not only an alien but an enemy. As soon as the happy time arrived when Constantine assumed the banner of the Cross, it might appear the fit moment for putting an end to such an anomaly. And the analogy of the Old Testament might be speciously brought in to justify such an innovation. That analogy had been largely used and generally admitted on many other points in the Church before the fourth century. It had helped to familiarise Christians with the ideas of sacrifices and altars, and Levites

and Priests, under the new dispensation; and those who had brought already the Christian into so close a resemblance to the Jewish economy, could hardly fail of remembering that, under the law, an undoubted supremacy belonged to the king, as the Lord's anointed, over all orders of the people—that he was bound to take care that priests as well as judges performed duly their respective offices.

If we turn to the panegyric oration pronounced by Eusebius upon Constantine, we shall see how far that courtly prelate was disposed to carry the theocratic view of the imperial functions. 'Others,' he tells us, 'may set forth the earthly honours of the Emperor, but it is for him to reveal to the duly prepared and worthy of initiation the higher mysteries of the imperial dignity, and from the divine oracles declare the supreme archetypal sovereignty of God in the first place, and then the express image of it as represented in the imperial power.' I will not burden your ears with the long and fulsome parallel which he proceeds to run between the monarchy of the Almighty and that of Constantine. I doubt whether in all the high-sounding adulation with which the Popes in later ages were addressed, there can be found anything very much beyond the language in which this doubtful catechumen—for at best he was only a catechumen—is belauded to his face by the Bishop of Caesarea. Towards the end of his speech the courtly Bishop rises to the height of ascribing a sort of perpetual inspiration to the Emperor. He speaks of frequent appearances to him of Christ; of direct suggestion from heaven of his laws, his military arrangements, his diplomacy; of revelations of the future, and of deep mysteries disclosed such as vulgar auditors could not understand; and finally, of his being the express character of the Eternal Word of God. Eusebius indeed seems to have persuaded himself, that in the glorious reign of the first Christian Emperor, the visions of the old prophets had been fulfilled, and Christ and his saints were actually reigning upon the earth. The New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse was, he thinks, meant as a description of the mag-

nificent edifices with which Constantine and Helena adorned the sites of our Saviour's crucifixion and burial; and all the resources of that wondrously flexible Greek tongue in which he was so fluent, if not so elegant a writer, are exhausted in epithets to extol the prince who had fixed the centre of ecclesiastical unity upon the throne of the Cæsars.

To do Constantine justice, however, it must be allowed that this greatness was, at least in the earlier part of his reign, rather 'thrust upon' than ambitioned by him. He appears at first to have been rather emulous of a very different position—that of a friendly, but not exclusively devoted patron of the Christian body; to have aimed at that sort of lofty superiority with which the old Roman magistrates treated the *licitæ religiones* of the pagan Empire, complying with, and honouring them upon certain public occasions, but making it sufficiently evident that the religions which they thus protected had no strong hold upon their faith or feelings. Constantine, in the early part of his reign, realised rather the idea of a prince who supports the Church, and wishes to make it respectable, for political reasons, than of a theocratic sovereign who regards the *souls* of his subjects as his first and principal charge, and uses his temporal power with a special reference to that. How far his real character changed as he grew older, how far his faith in Christianity really strengthened, how far he really became the ardent devotee which he is sometimes represented as having become, it is exceedingly difficult to determine, because we see his character through such rolling clouds of palpable adulation on one side, and of gross slander upon the other, as makes it hard to distinguish the true outlines of the object whose shape and dimensions we strive in vain to make an accurate estimate of.

But his successors were for the most part men who had been trained from their infancy in the belief of the Christian creed; and under them we find the theocratic idea of the imperial supremacy more fully developed, though under difficulties and encountering impediments to be more distinctly noticed hereafter, till it was completely wrought into

the fabric of the Church in the Eastern world, and assumed that definite form in which it meets us in the legislation of that great systematiser, Justinian.

‘That Justinian,’ says Dean Milman, in his admirable work, the ‘History of Latin Christianity’—‘that Justinian is a Christian Emperor appears in the front of his jurisprudence. Before the august temple of the Roman law, there is as it were a vestibule in which the Emperor seats himself as the religious legislator of the world in its new relation towards God. The Christian Emperor treats all mankind as his subjects, in their religious as well as in their civil capacity. The Emperor’s creed, as well as his edicts, are the universal law of the Empire. His code opens with the imperial creed on the Trinity, and the imperial anathema against Nestorius, Eutyches, Apollinaris. Justinian declares indeed that he holds the doctrines of the Church of the Apostles and their successors. He recognises the authority of the four great Councils. He even acknowledges the supremacy of the Roman Church, and commands all churches to be united to her. At the time of the publication of the Code, John III. was Bishop of Rome; but he had been appointed under the exarch, his inauguration had submissively awaited the Emperor’s approbation. Rome therefore, it was hoped, had become, notwithstanding the rapid advance of the Lombards, an integral, an inseparable part of the Empire. Justinian legislates, therefore, for Rome as for the East. But, though the Emperor condescends thus to justify the orthodoxy of his creed, it is altogether of his absolute, uncontrolled, undisputed will that it is law. It might seem, indeed, that the clergy were the subjects, as first in rank, whose offices, even whose lives, must first be regulated by imperial legislation.

‘In the following chapters the appointments, the organisation, the subordination, the authority of the ecclesiastical, as of the civil magistrates of the realm, is assumed to emanate from, to be granted, limited, prescribed by, the supreme Emperor. Excommunication is uttered indeed by the

ecclesiastics, but according to the imperial laws and with the imperial warrant. He deigns, indeed, to allow the canons of the Church to be of not less equal authority than his laws: but his laws are divine, and those divine laws all metropolitans, bishops, and clergy are bound to obey, and, if commanded, to publish. The hierarchy is regulated by his ordinance. He enacts the superiority of the metropolitan over the bishop, of the bishop over the abbot, of the abbot over the monk. Distinct imperial laws rule the monasteries. The law prescribes the ordinations of bishops, the persons qualified for ordination, the whole form and process of the holy ceremony. The law admitted no immunities in the clergy for crimes committed against the state or against society. It took upon itself the severe superintendence of clerical morals. . . . The refusal to punish, or the endeavour to conceal offences of this kind, made both the civil officers and ecclesiastics liable to civil as well as to ecclesiastical penalties.' After enumerating several other instances of the like description, he proceeds:—'Such were the all-comprehending ecclesiastical laws which the Emperor claimed the power to enact. In many cases he commanded or limited the anathema or the interdict. The obedient world, including the Church, acknowledged, at least by submissive obedience, this imperial supremacy. It is not until Justinian has thus, as it were, fulfilled his divine mission of legislating for his subjects as Christians, that he assumes his proper function, his legislation for them as Romans, and proceeds to his earthly task, the consolidation of the ancient and modern statutes of the Empire.'¹

This idea of a theocratic imperial supremacy, thus fully developed and systematised by Justinian, was, as I said, strongly and enduringly wrought into the whole fabric of the Eastern Church and State. But it was not at all confined to the East. In a form somewhat less completely developed it was strongly, but not nearly so permanently, impressed upon the habits of the Western part of Christendom

¹ *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. i. pp. 356–358.

also. There, indeed, the whole imperial power, civil as well as ecclesiastical, was, from the tumultuous and revolutionary condition of the times, too often under an eclipse. But whenever and wherever it, or any spark of it, shone out and revived with any tolerable vigour, in the shape of an energetic Christian kingdom, there and then, for a long period, the theocratic idea of the imperial or royal supremacy revived with the revival of its civil efficiency. We find it more or less distinctly expressed in the legislation of the Ostrogothic and Lombard princes. We see it in almost the full splendour and magnitude of its orb in the Institutions of Charlemagne, 'asserting the same unlimited authority over ecclesiastical and civil affairs, and gathering at Frankfort his clergy round his throne as so many feudal beneficiaries, to pass acts not only without the consent of the Pope, but in contravention of his declared opinions.' We trace it later down more faintly in the semi-sacerdotal character of the sovereign of Spain and the Two Sicilies. We trace it in the laws of our own Anglo-Saxon ancestors, and from their time all through the common law of England, maintaining as it did a continual struggle against Papal encroachments, till at last the Royal supremacy bursts forth with even scorching heat, like a July sun from under a cloud, in the great Tudor dynasty: and at a still more modern epoch we find it threatening for a while a similar outburst in France, in the person of Louis the Fourteenth.

For more than a century back, however, this high theocratic theory of imperial supremacy has passed so completely into practical oblivion in Europe (having been replaced since the English and French Revolutions by a much more prosaic and secular one), that men in our day are too apt to look back upon it with something of contempt as an old-world absurdity hardly worthy of attention. But though few now hold it systematically—few, I mean, out of the Greek or Russo-Greek communion—yet its influence in some vague shape or other is in many ways pretty strong over minds which would reject it in its full development. Nor do I think that as a theory it

is so utterly inferior in speciousness to the rival theocratic Papal conception, as it is the fashion to consider it.

Some of the most obvious objections to it cannot, I think, be quite consistently urged by those who hold the Papal theory.

The most obvious, perhaps, of all such objections is drawn from the alleged absurdity of vesting the supreme spiritual jurisdiction in a temporal prince, perhaps a child, who cannot be, from the nature of his education and other employments, ever expected to be, except in most rare cases, anything like a profound theologian.

This is, I think, to argue upon a mistake, and in a way that might be very easily retorted. I will not, however, dwell upon the retortion which would, I am sure, immediately occur to any lay inhabitant of the Papal States, and who might urge that if a temporal prince's secular education and employments made him unfit to be a spiritual sovereign, the spiritual sovereign's education and employments made him at least equally unfit to be a temporal prince; and that if, confessedly, an Emperor might be in his first, experience showed that a Pope might often be in his second childhood.

But these sprightly retorts are apt to be rather provoking than convincing. I choose, therefore, in preference to dwell upon the remark that the objection proceeds upon a wrong assumption. The imperial theory does not require its theocratic prince to be a profound theologian, any more than it requires him to be a profound lawyer or an expert general. It supposes the supreme spiritual jurisdiction to be vested in him only in the same way as the supreme temporal jurisdiction, the legislative and the executive powers, are vested in him. He is, according to it, the head of the law and the head of the army. If, without being a great lawyer, he may be the supreme legislator, and without any knowledge of tactics, the generalissimo of its fleets and armies, why may he not equally be head of the Church without the qualification of any deep theological lore or scholastic acuteness? In civil affairs the prince consults his experienced statesmen, in military, his

skilful officers. When he frames laws he gathers round him his council or parliament; when he frames canons, his bishops and learned clerks. But the acts which result from such deliberations are still the edicts, or orders, or laws, or canons of the Emperor.

Indeed scarce any of even the highest assertors of the Papal theory attribute to the Pope any proper personal infallibility. It is still of the Pope in cathedrâ, well informed, proceeding canonically, by and with the advice of his consistory at least (and to this many superadd a General Council and many the assent of the Church diffusive), that they mean to be understood as speaking.²

And in truth, some such qualifications as these seem absolutely required by plain matter of fact. For, in fact, the number of even respectable divines that have filled the Papal Chair is not great, and the number of profound theologians exceeding small. The Popes do indeed claim to be at once the successors of St. Peter and of St. Paul, the great ruler and the great doctor of the Church. But from a very early period they seem to have been generally content to leave the realisation of the latter character, that of teachers, to the inferior clergy; so that when we have named Leo the Great and Gregory the Great and Adrian VI., we have nearly exhausted the list of distinguished theologians who have worn the triple crown. The great minds that have led the mind of the Church have seldom been either Popes or Emperors; and as it seems now to be confessed that the proper function of the Pope is not to excogitate, or prove, or even gain a general reception for developments of doctrine, but only to *fiat* them when they have been discovered and proved and generally received by others, one does not see quite readily at the first glance why the great seal of the Church might not as well be entrusted to an Emperor as to a Bishop of Rome. 'The old man at Rome,' so Dr. Newman calls somewhat irreverently the great pontiff of his religion, 'the old man at Rome' owes, we are told, his singular power of procuring unity not to any special

² Written before the Vatican Council.—EDITORS.

acuteness or skill in composing differences, but to an hereditary trick of letting differences compose themselves, letting the combatants fight it out till they are both weary of fighting, and ready of their own accord to come to terms. How far this ingenious theory is reconcilable to facts, I shall not stop now to inquire. There are, I think, in Ecclesiastical history some awkward phenomena which would seem to indicate that the 'old man' is not quite so patient as he is described, that he has aggravated by inopportune meddling a good many quarrels, though he may have suffered more to heal themselves by letting them alone. But accepting Dr. Newman's, for the nonce, as a correct account of the matter, one does not see at first sight why this valuable secret should be the exclusive property, like a patent medicine, of any one set of men—why it should not be as good a medicine in the hands of an Emperor as of a Pope, and why the old man of Petersburg should not practise a little in this line as well as the old man at Rome. Indeed, in one point of view it may appear that the less of a theologian, the less even of a believer in any creed, the more perfectly indifferent, the supreme ruler of the Church was, the more likely he would be to like and practise this notable expedient: and some may think that the famous civil ruler Gallio, who cared for none of these things, but left the Jews and Greeks to fight it out till they were tired of it, was an eminent anticipation of the healing government of this old man at Rome.

Certainly one would think that that person, be he Pope or Emperor, must have a strange estimate of the value of truth, who, conscious of being able if he pleased to define it infallibly upon any important point hotly contested, should purposely abstain from so defining it until the controversy was at an end, and the world reasonably well satisfied without his definition.

I apprehend that, in point of fact, in both these theories unity and not truth was the uppermost thought in the framers' minds. And viewing them as plans for the conservation of

unity, I do think that one advantage must be conceded to the Papal theory.³ It is this—that the Pope's direct temporal power is so small and limited, that he will in general be in less danger than the Emperor of relying on it exclusively. He will feel that he is supported almost entirely upon opinion, and that, in every step he takes, he must plant his foot upon the basis of public opinion, or it will go from under him. He will naturally be apprehensive of provoking such a schism as might tear away the principal pillars of his strength and withdraw a large majority of his present subjects from their spiritual allegiance, and hence he will be strongly inclined to make his decisions accord with what he believes to be the prevailing current of feeling and belief in the Church. The imperial head, on the contrary, is conscious of wielding directly a vast amount of physical power: and if he chance to have heterodox theological tastes, he may be strongly tempted to effect a religious revolution, and compel by persecution the great body of his subjects to profess some new doctrine to which they are averse. It was upon this rock that so many of the earlier Byzantine Christian Emperors split. In the intoxicating pride of material power they endeavoured to bear down the deeply-rooted and permanent religious feelings and convictions of their subjects—as in the attempts to establish Arianism as the faith of the Roman Empire by the sons of Constantine, or the still later attempt to banish images by the Idoloclastic princes. These, however, are rash enterprises, which, supposing the Empire to hold together for a sufficient length of time, would be corrected by experience. It would come to be thoroughly understood that a perfectly intolerable Emperor, like a perfectly intolerable Pope, must be coerced or got rid of in some way. Emperors would discover that orthodoxy was the best policy; and it would come to be an established hereditary maxim of kingcraft that the prince should be always orthodox, i.e. in accordance with the predominant convictions of the Church which he governs. The

³ Written before 1860-70.

wildest tyrant would discover at last that though his power was called absolute, it had practical though not theoretical limits. He would learn, as the Greek Emperors learned, and as the Czars of Muscovy and the Sultans of Turkey have learned, that to try and change the people's religion is to change not them but the government.

But perhaps this circumstance, that the Emperor has so firm an independent basis in his secular authority, may prove dangerous to his spiritual character in another way, i.e., by tempting him to despise and neglect it. An irreligious and profligate Pope, like an irreligious and profligate Emperor, will infallibly despise his own spiritual pretensions; but he will be infinitely less likely to make an open show of this contempt. He cannot plainly give up making such pretensions without distinctly renouncing all pretensions. If he be not a priest, he is nothing. But with the Emperor it will be otherwise; and a man of any spirit will be naturally desirous of throwing off the mask, and freeing himself from the necessity of keeping up a cold and disgusting system of hypocrisy. However, here also the same checks may act upon the Emperor as upon the Pope, only not so quickly. For long traditional usage in an old monarchy may certainly make the sacred so completely blend and amalgamate with the civil office, that one cannot be abandoned in the eyes of the multitude without an apparent abdication of the other.

But without entering further into the discussion of that question, we may see clearly other causes which made the permanent realisation of the imperial theory impossible in Western Europe. Perhaps the chief of these was the spirit of independent nationality which, upon the ruin of the properly Roman Empire, broke up the whole Occidental part of it into a number of separate states. Now if, along with this disintegration of the body of the old commonwealth, a similar disintegration of the body of that ecclesiastical community which was formed by its influence had contemporaneously taken place, then, although the Emperor might have lost his position as the theocratic sovereign of all Christen-

dom—the Commander of the Faithful, the Christian Calif—yet the civil power might have made effectual resistance against the Papacy in the persons of the different princes, each exercising a spiritual as well as a temporal supremacy in his own dominions. But, especially within those parts of the Continent which had been thoroughly permeated by the old Roman institutions, this was not possible. Neither the people, the Pope, nor the Emperor were willing that the idea of the old Roman unity should be wholly lost; and this fixed idea of Western Christendom as one community being presupposed, the Papal scheme had a manifest advantage over the Imperial; because the Papal supremacy allowed, indeed encouraged and fomented, that separation of Europe into mutually independent civil states which political circumstances, even without the Pope's aid, rendered inevitable, while, on the other hand, such a separation was wholly incompatible with the Imperial supremacy. The Imperial supremacy was directly, openly, and essentially an absolute supremacy, temporal and spiritual. It was as chief magistrate, and in that character alone, that the Emperor could claim power in ecclesiastical affairs. It was upon the theory—a theory which you will find very popularly stated and defended by Hooker in his eighth book of ‘*Ecclesiastical Polity*,’ and by the late Dr. Arnold in his *Lectures on History*, but opposed, and I think refuted, by Warburton in his ‘*Alliance*,’ and Archbishop Whately in his ‘*Kingdom of Christ*’—it was upon the theory that Church and State are personally one society under one supreme head, it was upon that theory alone, that the Emperor could claim his theocratic character. If, therefore, the Church throughout Christendom was a society one and indivisible, it is manifest that no magistrate whose civil authority did not extend over all Christendom could consistently claim to be the head of it; and this constituted, I think, the grand inherent weakness of the Imperial claim. The cement which had bound together the stones of the old Roman Colossus could never be replaced. They might be laid for a while loosely together again, but only to fall in more hopeless ruin under the first vigorous

shock that assaulted its stability. For a while some energetic sovereign might re-establish something like a universal supremacy, but the very princes who aided him for a time against the audacious presumption of the Pope, would perceive, at the very moment of success, that they were only building up a worse tyranny than that which they had sought to pull down, and just when he seemed most triumphant would suddenly desert him. The dazzling prize of an universal sway was the meteor that lured on some of the greatest of the German Emperors to their own destruction. Had they been content with less, had they been satisfied to bound their dominion with the Alps, to leave the Pope to struggle as he could with the republics and princes whom his own subtle arts had multiplied and embroiled around him in Italy—had they encouraged their own native prelates to develop that theory of a national Church which is the only safeguard of a royal supremacy in modern Europe—they might perhaps have safely disregarded all the thunders and all the lightning of the Vatican. But the image of the Roman Empire was as constantly before their eyes as it was before those of their pontifical rivals. It was the deceitful Helen whose charms engaged the Empire and the Church in a perpetual conflict. Towards Italy they were ever drawn by a fatal fascination. Towards Italy they marched as conquerors. But every mile they traversed deducted something from their strength. The German Antæus, as he quitted the solid ground of his native dominion, found his powers abate. Enemies rose in his rear. His own subjects were disgusted at his absence, and his preference of a more favoured region. He was drawn into negotiations with his wary foe. His northern troops found a Capua in every luxurious city they subdued, and if the conquerors returned at all, it was not as conquerors they returned. 'So,' says Dean Milman—relating the expedition of Louis of Bavaria, in 1327—'so set forth another German Emperor, unwarned, apparently ignorant of all former history, to run the same race as his predecessors—a triumphant passage through Italy, a jubilant reception in Rome, a splendid

coronation, the creation of an Antipope; then dissatisfaction, treachery, revolt among his partisans, soon weary of the exactions wrung from them, but which were absolutely necessary to maintain the idle pageant; his German troops wasting away with their own excesses and the uncongenial climate, and cut off by war and fever; an ignominious retreat quickening into flight; the wonder of mankind sinking at once into contempt—the mockery and scoffing joy of his inexorable foes.'

LECTURE II.

ORIGINAL DIGNITY OF THE ROMAN BISHOPS—TESTIMONY OF IRENÆUS, TERTULLIAN, AND CYPRIAN.

GENTLEMEN,—The foundations of the Papacy were laid upon the double ground of the Apostolic origin of the Church, and the civil pre-eminence of the City of Rome. In the first of these respects it stood alone in the West, in the second it stood alone in the world; and the combination of the two secured to the Roman See a position superior, on the whole, to that which any other bishopric could pretend to.

Some ardent Protestants have, indeed, been anxious to confine the claims of the Roman See entirely to the civil pre-eminence of the city; but this, I think, cannot be done without offering such violence to the documents of history as nothing but strong polemical prejudice can reconcile men to.

It was surely quite natural that in the early age of Christianity the Bishops of those places in which the Apostles had themselves resided and trained churches by their own instruction and example, should be looked up to with peculiar reverence. Those prelates would naturally be respected as the inheritors of the tradition of the Apostles, as men formed in the Apostolic school, and as belonging to a succession upon whom the Apostles, who began it, might be supposed to have stamped their own image. In all doubtful questions, therefore, of doctrine or practice, great weight was allowed, and not unreasonably, to the teaching and customs of those churches which had been founded immediately by Apostles; and that, at first, as it appears to me, merely upon such intelligible grounds as I have hinted at, and without any mixture

of mystical or sacramental ideas. Thus, in their controversies with the heretics, we find the Fathers of the second century appealing to the tradition of the Apostolic Churches as a customary and most useful topic of controversy, sometimes to establish the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament, sometimes to confirm their own exposition of the teaching of Scripture, and sometimes to show that, contrary to and above what was contained in Scripture, the Apostles had delivered down no higher esoteric doctrine to their most favoured disciples. And with such objects in view as these, we find Irenæus appealing to the testimony of the Church of Rome in a passage with which I dare say controversy has made you all familiar. 'When the heretics,' he says, 'are refuted out of the Scripture, they turn round and accuse the Scriptures themselves, as if they were not correct or had no authority, and as ambiguously expressed and incapable of being understood, save by those who are acquainted with tradition' . . . But the true tradition of the Apostles, manifested in the whole world, all who wish to see the truth may recognise in the Church; and we are able to reckon up those who were made Bishops in the Churches by the Apostles, and the whole line of their successors down to ourselves, who never taught or knew anything akin to the wild fancies of these men. And surely, if the Apostles had known any hidden mysteries which they taught the perfect secretly and apart from the rest, those to whom they committed the churches were the most likely to have been made the depositories of that esoteric tradition. For they must have doubtless wished those persons to be thoroughly perfect and without flaw

¹ *Adv. Hær.* iii. 2. 'Cum enim ex Scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, quasi non rectè habeant, neque sint ex auctoritate, et quia variè sint dictæ, et quia non possit ex his inveniri veritas ab his, qui nesciant traditionem.' We have in this extract an instance of the extreme literalness of the Latin translation noticed by the Bishop in the course of his remarks. The clause, 'quasi non rectè habeant,' exhibits a frequent usage in regard to the Greek verb ἔχω, which does not properly belong to the Latin *habeo*. The meaning is not, 'as if they have not the Scriptures in a correct state,' but, as the Bishop translates in the text, 'as if they were not correct.'—EDITORS.

whom they left as their successors, and appointed as teachers in their own room, and from whose right conduct the greatest advantage would redound, and whose fall would be a public calamity.

‘But since, in such a volume as the present, it would be too long to enumerate the successions of all the Churches, we shall, by exhibiting in the case of the Church founded at Rome by the two glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, a Church of pre-eminent greatness, antiquity, and notoriety—by exhibiting, I say, the tradition and published faith which this Church has from the Apostles, and which has, by the succession of its Bishops, come down to us, we shall put to shame all those who run into false conclusions, either through self-conceit, or vain glory, or blindness, or vicious prejudices.’² And then follows this curious sentence, the just translation of which has been matter of so much angry controversy—‘*Ad hanc enim ecclesiam, propter potiore principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, qui sunt undique fideles, in quâ semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab apostolis traditio.*’ The most important question here is about the meaning of the clause, ‘*ad hanc*

² *Adv. Hær.* iii. 3. ‘Traditionem itaque Apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in omni Ecclesia adest perspicere omnibus qui vera velint audire, et habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt quale ab his deliratur. Etenim si recondita mysteria scissent Apostoli, quæ seorsim et latenter ab reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maximè traderent ea quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant. Valdè enim perfectos et irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos volebant esse, quos et successores relinquebant suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes, quibus emendatè agentibus fieret magna utilitas, lapsis autem summa calamitas. Sed quoniam valdè longum est, in hoc tali volumine omnium Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones, maximæ, et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro et Paulo, Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ Ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis traditionem, et annunciatam hominibus fidem per successiones Episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos, indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui quoquo modo, vel per sui placentiam malam, vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem et malam sententiam, præterquam oportet colligunt.’ The importance of this subject makes it desirable to give this passage in the original. It is taken from the Edition of Feuardent.—EDITORS.

enim ecclesiam, propter potiozem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam.'

The Romanists, of course, seize eagerly upon it as a plain statement of the absolute supremacy of the Church of Rome in defining matters of faith; and they accordingly understand Irenæus as saying that the whole Church is *bound* to agree with that of Rome on account of its loftier pre-eminence or principality.

Now I do not deny that, if this passage stood wholly by itself—as such passages usually stand in the text-books of controversy—such a meaning as this might be attached to the barbarous Latin in which the translator has, I can hardly say 'endeavoured to express' Irenæus' meaning, for that implies some conscientious effort made by the interpreter, and of such efforts I can hardly discover a trace in this version. But such a meaning might be attached to the barbarous Latin into which, unhappily, Irenæus' Greek has been here turned for us by some bungling translator.

But if we enlarge our view a little, and take in a consideration of the argument with which this passage stands connected, such a meaning will, to any candid examiner, seem wholly repugnant to the tenor of the context.

Irenæus, as we have already remarked, is engaged in an historical argument. He is endeavouring to show, from the testimony of their best ascertained successors, that the tradition of the Apostles was quite in accordance with their writings, and quite different from the doctrines of the Gnostics. For this purpose he appeals to the succession of the Bishops in the various Apostolic Sees. But as it would be tedious to go through them all, he selects one in particular as a sample of the rest, and he assigns for making this selection, and for considering this Church as a reasonable exponent of the teaching of the others, certain grounds. Now what are those grounds? Because, say the Romanists, Rome is the sovereign, and all other Churches are at all times bound to conform to her decisions. But did the Valentinians, against whom Irenæus is writing, admit any such principle as this?

No one surely is so mad as to suppose that they did. If Irenæus was at liberty to assume, in arguing against the Valentinians, that the decision of the Church of Rome in questions of doctrine is final, and that the whole Church, the faithful in every region, are absolutely bound always to conform to that, he certainly took most superfluous pains in composing the elaborate tomes which he has devoted to the refutation of those troublesome heretics. He might have brought the matter to a short issue. 'Petrus locutus est, causa finita est.' It was quite unnecessary for him, in such a view of the case, to enter into any historical details whatever with respect to the former belief either of the Roman or of any other Church. If the constitution of the Church require that the decision of the Bishop of Rome for the time being is final, and that the faithful are absolutely bound to acquiesce in that decision whatever it may be; and if this constitution was fully admitted by the heretics; then the wonder is that Irenæus should have introduced such a conclusive argument only here, slightly and by the way, and taken through all the rest of his work such amazing pains to accumulate other arguments which on this view were utterly superfluous.

Really the language which the Romanist interpretation puts into the good Father's mouth is such as no man could have used if he were serious. It is what one might expect from Swift in some piece of grave irony, but it is like nothing that any man in his senses ever wrote with any other purpose than to make his readers smile. It is as if an advocate at the bar, in a question of statute-law, were demurely to apologise for not inquiring *seriatim* what is considered binding in Norfolk and Suffolk, and Lincolnshire and Lancashire, and so on through all the counties of Great Britain, and to regret that, being forced to economise time, he could not entertain the court with the lights to be reflected from such a detailed investigation, but would confine himself at present to the task of showing what was laid down by the Parliament at Westminster, which confessedly had the power of binding all England by its enactments.

But it is unnecessary for me to dwell longer upon the absurdity of supposing that Irenæus could have expected the Valentinians to recognise the principle of implicit submission to the decisions of the Church of Rome. The very existence of the Valentinian heresy in the time of Irenæus is a sufficient demonstration that they must have notoriously rejected the authority of the Church of Rome; unless we adopt an hypothesis infinitely more disparaging to the credit of that Church, and suppose that, down to the middle of the second century, the Church of Rome had not distinctly condemned the Valentinians, and that it was a matter of argument, pro and con., to determine what was or was not the judgment, not of former prelates, but of the then present Bishop of Rome, upon such a question as that between the Gnostics and the orthodox. I say the then present Bishop of Rome; for it cannot be too earnestly impressed upon you in connection with this passage, that if Irenæus be supposed to argue the necessity for the agreement of all the faithful with the Church of Rome, from the assumption of a supremacy conferred by divine right on that Church, such a necessity is in its nature universal, and holds equally in all times. All that remains is to fix what, at any one time, is the decision of the present ruler of the governing Church at any one time, which for the most can be easily done, except in cases where that ruler purposely evades the appeal. Where he does not; where the living supreme judge of controversies is ready to hear the case, and pronounce at once a precise and unequivocal sentence; there it would be only courting needless difficulty to embarrass one's self with inquiring into historical evidence respecting the opinions of former prelates. But Irenæus plainly thinks himself bound to make out his case historically. It is not upon the mere ruling of the present Bishop of Rome that he relies, but upon the testimony of the whole line of its successive Bishops, and in particular on the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, which he immediately after proceeds to quote. And this consideration, that his argument all through proceeds upon proper historical testimony,

and not at all upon mere authority, effectually confutes the only other plea which can be urged by Romanists in defence of their interpretation.

For, if they should urge that all we have been saying shows only the absurdity of supposing that the Gnostics recognised the supremacy of Rome, but that all that is needful for Irenæus is that the Catholic Church should, whether rightly or wrongly, have admitted that supremacy, since this is all that is necessary for proving that the tradition of Rome is a faithful exponent of the teaching of the Catholic Church—if, I say, such a plea as this be set up, it is easy to answer that nothing could be less suitable to Irenæus' purpose than to make such a remark as is here supposed in pressing an historical argument. The effect of it would in reality be, not to raise the testimony of the Roman Church to an equivalence with that of the whole body of the faithful, but to sink the value of the testimony of the whole body of the faithful, and reduce it to nothing better than the single testimony of the Roman Bishops. If a million of men are previously possessed with a principle, that they must unhesitatingly and implicitly acquiesce in and subscribe to the decisions of a single person, their acquiescence and subscription is thenceforth stripped of all pretension to the character of independent and concurrent testimony. The voice of such a body is only the voice of one, with a million echoes. Irenæus would therefore have been manifestly weakening his own argument, and detracting from the weight of the testimony which he was himself about to produce, if in such a connection he had insisted upon the remark that the whole Church felt itself bound to comply with the decisions of the Church of Rome, considered as the mother and mistress of all churches.

In short, if 'convenire ad' means, as perhaps it does, 'to agree with,' then, in order to preserve any tolerable coherence of thought and reasoning, the 'necesse est' must mean some *logical*, not *moral* necessity; and consequently the 'potior principalitas' to which it refers must denote something

different from the sovereignty which demands obedience. It is as a sample of proper independent and concurrent evidence that Irenæus is producing the tradition of the Church of Rome, and he says that the 'potior principalitas' of that Church is a ground for believing that its tradition fairly represents the independent traditions of the other churches; so that the 'potior principalitas' must plainly be something which, without affecting the independence of those traditions, yet makes it reasonably credible that they should harmonise with that of Rome.

Now we must remember, as we said before, that we are dealing with a most barbarous and bungling version of a Greek text, and not with the very words of Irenæus himself, and that it is wholly uncertain what the words intended to be represented by 'potiorem,' (or as some read, 'potentiorē') 'principalitatem,' really were. This we do know, that, a little after, this same translator talks of Clement as having written 'potentissimās litteras'—an expression which would no doubt have been fastened upon as describing some authoritative rescript or decretal epistle, if the very letter in question were not still extant, and if the Greek text of Irenæus in that passage, fortunately preserved by Eusebius, did not show us that the original words were *ικανωτάτην γραφήν*.

In the place before us, the term translated *principalitas* was probably *Ἀρχή*—a word which, as I need not tell you, may denote almost any kind of precedence or pre-eminence whatever. And if we look into the context to discover what sort of *ἀρχή* or pre-eminence Irenæus here claims for the Church of Rome, we perceive at once quite enough fully to justify his use of such a term. He has just described that Church as 'maximæ et antiquissimæ' (which word, by the bye, makes it plain that he is in his own mind comparing it only with the Churches of the West, since no one could be so foolish as to say that Rome was older than the Church of Jerusalem, or that of Antioch or Cæsarea or Samaria),—as 'maximæ et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ et a gloriosissimis apostolis Petro et Paulo constitutæ.' Now these four characteristics—

its greatness, its antiquity, its foundation by the two most illustrious of the Apostles, and its consequent position as a light set on a hill in the eye of the whole world, seem a sufficient dignity to justify the use of the term *Ἀρχή* in reference to them, and, what still more confirms this view, to explain why Irenæus should think such a pre-eminence a good ground for treating the tradition of the Roman Church as a fair exponent of the independent traditions of the other Apostolic Churches. With this Church of Rome, he would say on this view of the case, we must needs infer from the high prerogatives I have enumerated, that the tradition of every church agrees in which the teaching of the Apostles has been preserved pure and uncorrupt. Peter and Paul, the two most illustrious of the Apostles, must surely have known the highest mysteries of the gospel, and would undoubtedly have committed them to the chosen persons whom they selected to take charge of the most considerable of all the churches they founded; and if the teaching of the successors of those men had varied from theirs, the change would have been observed in the case of a See placed in so conspicuous a position as that of Rome. This may not be as strong an argument as could be wished, but it is certainly an intelligible one, and carries on what we certainly know to be Irenæus' train of thought and reasoning in this place with perfect coherence and consistency.

Before quitting this passage, however, I must remark that a somewhat different turn is generally given to it by Protestant commentators. They, I think, for the most part, refer the 'potior principalitas' or 'potentior principalitas' to the City, not to the Church, and explain the 'convenire ad' not of agreement but of personal visitation. In short, they would translate the passage thus: 'For to this Church, on account of the predominance of the city of Rome, the faithful from all quarters are obliged to repair, and in it consequently the faith delivered down by the Apostles is constantly watched and so preserved by the rest of the Church—that is, by Christians from every part of the world.'

It is in favour of this translation, that in describing the

faithful who compose the rest of the Church, we have the word 'undique,' *from* all quarters, instead of 'ubique,' *in* all quarters. But as I have before said, anything which depends upon the diction of the Latin version of Irenæus depends upon a very frail foundation. And I cannot but think that if Irenæus had been here thinking of the civil pre-eminence of the city of Rome, he would have expressed his meaning more fully, and in a way that would have left traces, even in this barbarous translation. For, to do this translator justice, he never omits a word, except where, as in the case of the article, the nature of the Latin language compels such an omission. He translates generally word for word. His only fault being that any word, which ever corresponds to the Greek term, he thinks will answer all purposes and every place. Hence, I think, if Irenæus had meant to speak of the civil pre-eminence of Rome, we should have found in the translation—'ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter *urbis* potentiores principalitatem necesse est convenire omnem ecclesiam, h.e. eos qui sunt undique fideles.'

There can be, however, I think, no reasonable doubt that, whatever objections this explanation is open to, it is open to far less weighty ones than that of the Romanists. If anything can be plainly collected from this passage, amidst the barbarisms and ambiguities with which it is now disfigured, it is that the Romish exposition of it is untenable. But it is much easier to see what is not, than what is, the meaning of the contested clauses. Throwing them, however, entirely out of consideration for the present, enough remains in that part about which there is no dispute to illustrate the point in connection with which I at first alleged it, the position of dignity and influence which the Roman Church occupied as *the* Apostolic Chair of the Western portion of the Roman Empire, and thus, to Gaul and Spain and North Africa, the historical representative of the teaching of its Apostolic founders.

There is another famous, and indeed parallel passage to this, in Tertullian's 'De Prescription. Hæret.' which sheds additional light upon this view of the case.

'If,' says he, 'thou wouldst exercise to some useful purpose thy curiosity in the matter of thy salvation, run through the Apostolic Churches, in which the very chairs of the Apostles are set in their places of pre-eminence, and the authentic letters of the Apostles are recited, calling up the very sound of the voice and mien of the face characteristic of their authors. Is Achaia next thee? thou hast Corinth. If not far from Macedonia, Philippi and Thessalonica. If Asia, Ephesus. If thou art next to Italy, thou hast Rome, whence we too (he means the Carthaginians) have an authority close at hand. Happy Church, into which the Apostles poured forth their whole teaching with their blood. Where Peter met a death like the Lord's passion, and Paul an end resembling the Baptist's. Whence John, after coming safely out of a cauldron of burning oil, was banished to an island. Let us see what this Church learned, what she taught, what she exchanged with the Africans' (c. 36).³

With Tertullian, you see, as with Irenæus, the whole thought is of proper historical evidence, and the foundation of the Roman Church by the Apostles Peter and Paul is referred to only as affording a strong presumption that the teaching of that Church was the tradition handed down from those Apostles through the line of its successive Bishops. The appeal made to Rome is not different in kind from that made to Corinth, or Ephesus, or Philippi, or Smyrna.

But when we pass on to a somewhat later authority of the

³ 'Age jam qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tue, percurrere ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis presidentur, apud quas ipsæ authenticæ litteræ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem et representantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxime est tibi Achaia, habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum: si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam: undeque auctoritas præsto est. Statu fœlix ecclesia, cui totam doctrinam Apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt: ubi Petrus passione Dominicæ adæquatur, ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur, ubi Apostolus Joannes posteaquàm in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatus. Vidcamus quid dixerit, quid docuerit, quid cum Africani quoque ecclesiis contesserit.' *De Præscript. adv. Her.* c. 36, Franek, 1597.—Ed.

African Church, Cyprian of Carthage, we find in his earlier writings the first glimpses of a more mysterious dignity investing the person of the Bishop of Rome. In Cyprian's view, the Bishop of Rome wears, in virtue of his office as the lineal successor to Peter, a sort of sacramental or symbolic character, as typifying the unity of the Episcopate. Peter, according to Cyprian, typified the whole body of the Episcopate. When our Lord promised to build His Church upon him, and to give him the keys of the kingdom, it was to show the absolute unity, the identity of power and office, in all the inheritors of it, that it was first thus given to one single person. In one sense therefore, every Bishop is the successor of Peter, and in every Church the chair of Peter is set up, because Peter thus considered is the very type of the whole Episcopate. But as the Bishops of Rome are peculiarly his successors, therefore Rome may be called eminently—'Petri cathedra, ecclesia principalis, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est.'⁴

⁴ *Ep.* liv., ad Cornelium. The Bishop had no doubt some of the following passages also in view in this discussion of Cyprian's opinions:—*Ep.* xxvi., *Lapsis*: 'Dominus noster, cujus præcepta et monita observare debemus, episcopi honorem et ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens in evangelio loquitur et dicit Petro: Ego tibi dico, etc. . . . Inde per temporum et successionum vices episcoporum ordinatio et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur.' *Ep.* li., ad Antonianum de Cornelio: 'Manente concordie vinculo et perseverante catholice ecclesiæ individuo sacramento, actum suum disponit et dirigit unusquisque episcopus. . . . Cum sit a Christo una ecclesia per totum mundum divisa, item episcopatus unus episcoporum multorum concordie numerositate diffusus.' *Ep.* lxi., ad Januarium: 'Una ecclesia a Christo Domino super Petrum origine unitatis et ratione fundata.' *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, cap. ii.: 'Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum: Ego tibi dico, etc. Et iterum eidem: Pasce oves meas. Super illum unum ædificat ecclesiam suam, et illi pascendas mandat oves suas. Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat et dicat, Sicut misit me Pater, etc., tamen, ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem suâ auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et cæteri Apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur et primatus Petro datur, ut una Christi ecclesia et cathedra una monstretur. Et pastores sunt omnes, et grex unus ostenditur, qui ab Apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur, ut ecclesia Christi una monstretur. . . . Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.'

It is not easy to see what real prerogatives this position, according to Cyprian, conferred upon the Bishop of Rome; but it seems clear that it could not give that Bishop any greater prerogatives in the College of Bishops, than the singling out of Peter, from whom its dignity was derived, gave to Peter himself in the College of Apostles. And it is quite plain that, according to Cyprian's view, Peter had no sort of jurisdiction over the rest of his brethren. '*Hoc erant,*' he says expressly,—'*hoc erant utique et cæteri Apostoli quod fuit Petrus pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis.*' If the rest of the Apostles were equal to Peter in honour and power notwithstanding the symbolical character which he bore, we may be sure that the inheritance of that symbolical character conferred upon his successors no pre-eminence in honour or power above the other Bishops of the Christian Church.

Indeed, the more closely we examine Cyprian's idea, the more it will appear intended logically to exclude all claim of superior jurisdiction on the part of the Bishops of Rome over other prelates; and that in the most dexterous of all ways, under cover of a compliment. For the essence of their sacramental character was, that they symbolised in a peculiar way the absolute oneness of the episcopal office, which was to be conceived of as whole and entire in every single Bishop—as utterly incapable of degrees of increase or diminution. So that no one Bishop could be more a Bishop than any other. So that a Bishop of Rome who usurped authority over his brethren would be really acting a more manifestly inconsistent part than any other prelate in the Church, because he would be flagrantly denying that very truth of the independence and integrity of the episcopal office, which, as the personal successor of Peter, he in a peculiar manner himself symbolised.

But if, as seems probable, Cyprian cherished this idea of his under the persuasion of its affording a guarantee for the independence of the Bishops, he was certainly mistaken in that persuasion. He had materially served the cause of

Roman aggrandisement. The conception of the Bishop of Rome as officially the successor of St. Peter, and as, in virtue of his office, inheriting over and above other Bishops whatever that Apostle had over and above other Apostles,—this was a plain and intelligible notion; while the airy kind of symbolism in which this pre-eminence was made to consist, and the metaphysical conception of an Episcopate one and indivisible subsisting in its integrity in every Bishop at one and the same time,—these were thoughts too abstract and refined to be ever popular.

Meanwhile it is certain, I think, that from an early period the Roman Bishops were a succession of men very ready to avail themselves of every opportunity of extending their authority. The Roman character is naturally ambitious, and ambitious men soon began to discover that a Christian Church offered a wide field for the exercise of their powers. A body ramified like the Christian fraternity through all the provinces, and in which the road to a distinguished position of influence was open to all candidates for the favour of the Christian people, by whose suffrages priests and bishops were recommended to their stations, such a body was too considerable an engine not to present temptations to the ambitious mind.

I know there are many who shrink, as if from some profanity, from the thought of imputing ambition to a martyr Bishop of the second or third centuries; but this feeling shows, I think, a great ignorance of human nature as well as of Ecclesiastical history.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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N. MANCHESTER,

